

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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VIEWS AND REVIEWS

I

It is a pleasure to announce that the council has elected as secretary of the National Municipal League Mr. H. W. Dodds of the political science department of Western Reserve University. He will take office April 1.

II

TEN years ago, in 1920, the present governor of Pennsylvania, who then was secretary of this league, summed up twenty-five years of remarkable progress in municipal affairs in his valedictory. Now after only ten years more, how the continuing acceleration of the civic movement in America makes the last decade seem like the release of pent-up waters by the breaking of a dam!

They had solved the municipal problem in 1920, but little more. There were no state-wide civic organizations in any state. The modern county was undreamed of. The single-house legislature was a notion to mention cautiously, lest you be thought a shallow innovator. The house of governors had fizzled out.

In the cities there had developed none of the really great city managers for whose services great corporations now so often bid in vain. They had the city manager plan, to be sure, but no city had as yet adventured with it into

any but the most familiar realms of service and those city fathers, if confronted with the performances of almost any city of to-day, would have murmured "socialism" and pointed with horror to the bonded debt.

The possibilities of civic organization had only been glimpsed. A western farm movement had disclosed that instead of the "joiners" in civic endeavor being limited to a dozen men in a township, the membership, despite heavy dues, could be driven to spacious figures. Likewise with programs—the typical enterprises were step-by-step and technical and won the support of only special groups whose hobbies lay in that direction. The power of bold programs hand in hand with an inner organization of good research and technique, had not yet been felt—efforts were either shallow and popular or technical and unsupported. Considering how sensitive the legislatures were to propaganda it seems amazing now to realize how little it was seen that they were the keys to all other questions; that reform there meant rescue everywhere else.

The mere catalog of current blessings that did not exist ten years ago is impressive; for example:

The central testing laboratories of the City Managers' Association which have so largely standardized municipal specifications from pavements to stationery.

The bureau of municipalities in the Department of the Interior at Washington, with its comprehensive studies of municipal problems.

The development of the county as a strong and efficient rural municipality unified by good roads, the automobile, and the aeroplane, taking over health, schools, police, and libraries from the townships and villages and adding the great agricultural and marketing services.

The numerous and powerful state civic associations.

The non-partisan ballot in state elections.

The house of governors and the great series of uniform laws prepared by its expert staff and adopted by practically all the states.

Expert, responsible preparation of legislation and elimination of the maze of petty local and private bills.

The new attractiveness of public office to men and women of ability—all these would have seemed as remote and theoretic in 1920 as the city manager or the state budget would have seemed in 1910!

III

To come back to 1920 and brass tacks!

It now costs as much to print this 64-page edition of three thousand copies as it did a year ago to print the bi-monthly issue of 108 pages.

The membership of the National Municipal League has been increasing as follows in the last six months as compared with the previous year:

	1918	1919	1920
August.....	3	22	
September.....	4	15	
October.....	11	23	
November.....	7	16	
December.....	11	19	
January.....		23	70

Obviously this rate of growth will not pay the bills!

We owe the printer alone over \$4,000 and have about \$1,000 on hand. (The printer is a brick.) We gain a few inches financially per month, but are blocked by financial difficulties in all propaganda work. For example, the five articles we have published in the last few years on the five proportional representation elections that have been held in Ashtabula and Kalamazoo would make a bully pamphlet for charter revision committees—just what they want on this subject—but the cost (about \$200) was too much for us!

We had an early copy of the new German constitution—a very interesting piece of construction—but to issue it as a supplement would have cost \$90 extra.

And all we ask is that those who can afford it, change from the \$5 membership class to the \$10 or \$25 class, that those to whom the \$5 is a sacrifice, stick, and that you all think up a friend or two to whom we may send a sample copy with a letter mentioning your name.

IV

THE spontaneous supply of articles for the REVIEW in its present monthly form is less than the consumption and we have to stimulate production by requests. But we do not always know what to request—events that are worth recounting in these columns do not necessarily come to our attention.

The articles that come spontaneously are apt to be abstract personal opinion articles or transcripts of laws on some subject—acceptable often, but too many of them would have the magazine void of freshness.

The articles we ask for are concrete accounts of given local situations that illuminate a principle.

RICHARD S. CHILDS.

ATLANTA MOVES TOWARD A MODERN CHARTER

BY FRANK WELDON

Secretary Taxpayers' League, Atlanta, Ga.

This sketch of civic conditions in Atlanta sounds like old times in many a city, but the deadlock by which progress is being forced is rather original. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

With a population approaching 250,000 and annual receipts almost reaching \$5,000,000, the municipality can barely meet operating expenses—with no funds available for new construction. School facilities are disgracefully short, down town streets are terribly congested, the waterworks are under tremendous strain to supply the fast growing demand.

Atlanta's annual receipts are approximately \$20 per capita, of which sum \$12 goes for pay rolls, \$2 for sinking fund, interest and public debt, 60 cents for street lighting, 60 cents for the city hospital and 30 cents for automobiles and trucks for officials and employes.

Thus we have less than \$4.50 per head for the multifarious other activities. So hard pressed is the city treasury, that recently a movement was seriously begun to raise funds by public subscription for the city hospital. Only the shame of it caused the drive to be called off and an emergency tax was levied to complete improvements and to keep the public schools open during December.

There is practically no graft among city officials but the taxpayers believe that there is criminal inefficiency. As a general proposition, salaries are not too high but there are too many of them. Employes do not graft except, occasionally, in a petty way, but outsiders put things over on the city. Not long ago, it was developed in some litigation between contractors, that fees and profits amounted to \$5,200 on

a proposed city job, the actual cost of which was to be about \$7,500.

The impression is firmly fixed in the public mind that the city does not get more than 30 to 50 cents of value for every dollar expended.

Sentiment is strong for a commission-manager form of government. Thus far, public opinion has failed to change the archaic bicameral form, but the commission advocates are always able to beat any bond issue that comes. They are determined not to vote any more money until the present system is changed.

We have one alderman and two councilmen from each of the eleven wards—thirty-three members in all. Just about one-third of these are capable business and professional men and two-thirds are—good fellows. Some of them do not pay any tax except the poll tax which they have to pay to vote, and several pay less than \$20 a year. Hence their liberality in voting for appropriations is not surprising.

One of the city's troubles—perhaps not peculiar to Atlanta—is that not enough capable men can be persuaded to run for office and, if they do run, they are attacked, berated and probably defeated. No matter how well qualified he may be, it is almost impossible to elect a Jew, a Catholic, an official of a public utility, a high class business man or any one who has opposed increasing salaries. And yet, if the business men do line up and take an interest in a campaign, they can

elect their man every time. They have done it on rare occasions but they seldom take an active part in city politics. The result is, they and the rest of the city are penalized by inefficiency. They are so absorbed in making money while the making is good, that they will not give their time to make Atlanta a better city in which to live. They do not realize that the most brilliant epochs in the history of cities have been those periods when it was considered a man's highest duty to serve his state and when to be called a politician was a badge of honor.

In the campaign for a new charter, which is bound to come some day, it may be found to be expedient to have eleven members of the commission or aldermanic board or whatever the legislative body is called—one from each ward. That number would be two more than Boston has with three times Atlanta's population. A fight will be made to hold the commission down to five members to be elected from the city at large but, if this fails, eleven will be better than thirty-three.

Naturally, most of the city's employes are opposed to a change. If the women had a vote, there would be no question about a short ballot winning, because the suffragists favor it.

In the municipal primary of 1919, the women were allowed as a courtesy and experiment, to register and to vote. It was wholly illegal but it was permitted, and it was significant that in the wealthiest ward, the women registered 60 per cent of the men's voting strength. In the typical white workingmen's ward, the fifth, the women who registered were only 6 per cent of the men's strength.

The negro vote, which is 10 per cent of the total, will probably be almost solid for a change. The negroes know they cannot get any more school facilities under the present system because

there never is any money. Besides, they are naturally inclined to vote with big business and the most substantial whites. They have all to gain and nothing to lose by a change in the form of city government.

Some of the leaders of organized labor favor a change, although in the past labor has been the backbone of the policy of electing all heads of departments by popular vote. Atlanta chooses not only the mayor and thirty-three members of the general council at the polls but also five members of the school board, forty-four members of the city executive committee and the heads of ten departments, including the superintendent of construction, the superintendent of the waterworks, building inspector, the electrical superintendent who passes on the movie machine operators, and the city attorney. In the last city primary, the ballots carried the names of ninety-four candidates!

The department heads, elected by the people, are not responsible to the mayor, or to council, or to any one. Hence co-ordination is lacking and instead, we get duplication, overlapping, inefficiency. The police, fire, school, water and park departments are under boards and the boards are largely self perpetuating.

The great idea to be kept in view in framing a new charter is to concentrate authority and responsibility. Now they are so divided and scattered that the mayor hasn't as much authority as a traffic cop.

The "white primary" is the only election that counts in Atlanta. The blacks do not vote in it but any registered white man, be he Democrat, Republican, Socialist or Bolshevik, can vote. There are factions but they do not divide on national party lines. One of the best aldermen the city has is a national Republican, who was

nominated and elected by the city at large over a Democrat.

The old custom of buying votes at the polls has died out—not because the sellers had a change of heart but it was growing more and more expensive and came to be considered bad form. In place of the old practice, candidates have substituted the employment of paid workers or propagandists who are employed from two days to a month in advance of the primary. It is perfectly legal for a man who has been engaged as a propagandist, to volunteer his services for his candidate on election day.

These paid professional propagandists have not yet organized a union or gone on a strike, but they are demanding 50 to 100 per cent more pay than they used to get. The rising cost of living spares no vocation!

Atlanta uses the Australian ballot in the primaries and the voting and the count are honest—95 per cent honest anyway. The elections are not corrupt or crooked for there is little inducement for a candidate for alderman or council to spend money lavishly—because their salaries are only \$25 per month—\$300 per year. A year's prospective salary is about as much as the average candidate will spend to get elected—or defeated.

Atlanta's taxes are not burdensome. Improved real estate pays from \$4 to \$7.50 per \$1,000 of actual value. Unimproved real estate pays from \$3

to \$4 per \$1,000 of fair value. This variation is due to variations in the assessments. As there is no way to determine the exact value of a piece of real estate, the assessors estimate it and, usually, they are considerate of the taxpayer. Improved properties are frequently sold for two to three times their assessed values. The average property owner has no just ground to complain about the amount he has to pay, but it is the way that it is spent that peeves him.

Two or three times the voters have declared for municipal ownership of public utilities as an abstract proposition but, in April, 1919, when they had a concrete proposition before them, they defeated it by a considerable majority just as Detroit defeated municipal ownership the same month. Of course, a municipality which can barely keep its schools open, which just does maintain its streets in passable condition and which cannot afford the money to have a survey made or its public utilities valued by competent experts, is utterly unable to invest millions in acquiring and millions more in operating and expanding great public utilities on which the city's commercial life depends. The city cannot find \$100,000 with which to properly house a million dollar battle picture which, fortunately it owns. The treasury is not in position to take advantage of a 15 per cent discount on \$100,000 of its outstanding notes.

THE TRAINING OF CITY MANAGERS

BY CHESTER C. MAXEY

Supervisor, Training School for Public Service, New York Bureau of Municipal Research

One of the commonest challenges in campaigns for the adoption of the commission-manager plan is the query—"Where can we hope to find an expert city manager?" Partial answers can be offered, but it is undeniable that the supply is seriously behind the demand. :: ::

DESPITE the amazing spread of the manager plan of municipal administration with its record of superior city government, its ten-year history reveals one disappointing feature. The 1919 year-book of the city managers' association notes the fact that of the 229 men who have been appointed as city managers, 101 are no longer in the work and that of the 128 managers now in the field only 44 have served two years or more.

A WEAKNESS OF THE MANAGER PLAN

Here are indications of a condition with dangerous possibilities. The success or failure of the manager plan in any city is very largely contingent upon the character and qualifications of the person chosen as city manager; and when cities are changing managers with great frequency and nearly 70 per cent of the managers in the field are practically novices, having no more technical preparation than the ordinary elective mayors whom they replace, it indicates that the day of transient amateur municipal executives is not yet over.

Something more than personal affability, political acceptability, and local residence are needed to succeed in the position of city manager. The problems and affairs of even a relatively small city are as complex and specialized as those of a good-sized private

corporation and infinitely more vexing. To assume, therefore, that it requires less in the way of special preparation and experience to conduct the business of a city than to direct the affairs of a bank, a department store, or a manufacturing concern, is a profound error. In the early years, when the manager plan was new, there was an excuse for selecting poorly equipped and inexperienced men as city managers; but ten years of growth and experience should have developed a much larger number of trained and experienced men who could be called from city to city as municipal executives are in Europe and as corporation executives are called from corporation to corporation in this country. There have been, to be sure, about twenty promotions from city to city and several managers have moved upward twice, taking with them a rapidly ripening experience but that there are not more such cases is principally the result of two causes: namely, the disposition of a certain minority list of local authorities who employ city managers to allow parochialism to prejudice them in behalf of local favorites and to blind them to the importance of special education and experience, and the fact that opportunities have not existed for men to obtain the education and experience necessary to qualify them for public service.

WHY LOCAL CANDIDATES SHOULD NOT BE FAVORED FOR MANAGERSHIP

It is natural when a high salaried position is created in a city government that the residents of the city and their representatives in the city council should want to see the position filled by a local man; and yet the tendency to resort to local talent is a positive menace to the continued success of city manager government. This does not mean that local brains are inferior or that local talent, if conspicuously superior, should be unrecognized and unrewarded; but it does mean that every local man has disqualifications which handicap him from the start and may undermine the success of his administration. Chief among these are the following:

1. A local man is often too well known to inaugurate and conduct successfully a new system of administration. Past incidents in his career will always crop up to become storm centers of criticism and controversy which have little or no relation to the merits of his work as city manager.

2. A local man usually has no special equipment for the job and no experience in other cities, and thus he is unable to give the city the benefit of ideas and experiments that have been developed and tried out elsewhere.

3. If a local man does develop notable capacity for the work, he will soon be tempted with offers from other cities; and if he accepts and is replaced by another local man, the city becomes a sort of training school for managers of other cities which are keen enough to realize the value of importing trained and experienced men from outside.

4. A local man is likely to lack independence and vigor because the loss of his position will mean either the termination of his public career or removal to another city at the cost of long-es-

tablished personal or property attachments. If he is indifferent to the latter, he will ignore improper influences; but if not, he will surely be tempted to trim his sails to all political winds, which will not be good for the business of the city. Indeed, cases have not been unknown in which a local man was chosen because his pliability, yes corruptibility, was known in advance by a venal board of commissioners, which had been unable to rely on those qualities in outsiders.

In view of these facts it would seem prudent for a city never to commit itself to the policy of preferring a local man as city manager; and probably it should not even determine positively to recruit the leading heads of departments from local talent entirely, as there are many cases where cities could enormously improve their services by securing men trained elsewhere to serve as public works engineers, accountants, public health specialists, and the like.

THE TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE NEC- ESSARY IN THE MAKING OF A CITY MANAGER

The kind of training and experience that should be demanded of the manager, whether he be a local man or an outsider, is a matter that has never received adequate study. The statistics compiled in the 1919 year-book of the city managers' association shows that 63 per cent of the managers are college graduates, and that before entering their present profession 48 per cent of them were engineers and 25 per cent business men. It also appears that 82 of the 128 managers have had some previous experience in public service and that 60 per cent of these have been in public engineering work. It is to be expected, perhaps, that the preference should have been given to engi-

neers, particularly in the smaller cities where local improvements seem to be the principal function of government; and that business men should stand second in order of preference is also easily explainable. Upon casual consideration probably most persons would assume that men of engineering and business training and experience ought to make the best city managers. As a matter of fact, however, that assumption is practically groundless, being predicated upon a very meagre knowledge of the real problems of city management and being refuted now by the experience of dozens of cities.

What is there about the education and experience of the engineer, even the engineer in municipal work, that especially qualifies him to become the chief executive of a city, in charge of all of its administrative activities? True, public works constitute a large part of the activities of every city, but technical engineering is a small part of the administration of public works and the man who possesses the necessary qualifications for technical work does not necessarily have any capacity for administration and management. There is in fact very little in the training and experience of the average engineer, even on municipal work, that would impart to him a peculiar fitness for city management. Underlying and common to all of the specialized phases of municipal administration are certain broad and basic problems, such as taxation, budget making, funding, purchasing, management of personal service, accounting. Does engineering instruct one in these matters? Does engineering, furthermore, endow one with a good working knowledge of the problems of police administration, fire protection, institutional management, charities, corrections, recreation, education? Certainly no one would ever contend that it does.

Likewise no one would insist that the training and experience of the average business man should equip him to cope with these problems of municipal management in any better fashion than the engineer. And the same may be said of all other callings.

The fact is that the problems of public administration are unique, and call for a unique training.

The city manager in order to superintend the complex affairs of a large city must not only possess unusual executive ability, but must be acquainted with public finance and accounting and must have a working knowledge from the administrative standpoint of all of the functional activities of a city government. Most city managers have had to acquire this full-rounded training and experience after taking office, and the consequences have not always been happy.

THE METHODS OF THE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

But if a manager is not to secure his training after taking office and at the expense of the taxpayers, he must have the advantage of education for his special task. Such education has been very difficult to secure, because most of the educational institutions which have offered courses preparing for city manager work have been unable to supplement their formal courses with practical experience. In this particular, the training school for public service of the New York bureau of municipal research is different. The New York bureau of municipal research is primarily a research organization and the members of its staff devote themselves principally to scientific studies and investigations in the field of public administration. Having surveyed over 100 cities in all parts of the country, a half-dozen counties in vari-

ous states, and two states, the bureau has accumulated a vast store of information about the methods and technique of public administration in the United States and has evolved standards for their betterment.

The training school for public service is conducted as a supplementary activity of the bureau in order that persons desiring to prepare themselves for public work may profit by the experience of the bureau and come into contact with its specialists. The method of instruction in the training school is unusual. While formal lectures and assignments of reading are not dispensed with, the students learn most by doing practical work under the supervision of members of the staff. When conditions permit, students preparing for executive positions in public life are taken into the field with members of the staff who are conducting surveys, and used in the less important work of the survey. When administrative problems arising in connection with a particular piece of work are discussed in staff conferences, training school students are present to profit by the discussions and to participate in so far as they are qualified. Needless to say the student soon acquires a clearer conception of government as a going concern and a better grasp of the fundamental principles of management, than could be obtained by any amount of contact with books alone. And the natural consequence is that the students of the training school are apt to develop a practical sense and maturity of judgment that come from experience

as well as the background and vision that come from well-rounded study.

Some conception of the character and scope of the city manager training may be had from the following list of the subjects included in the course of study:

The structure and organization of municipal government.

Municipal charters.

The relation of the city and the state.

Municipal home rule.

Statistics.

Civil service and salary standardization.

Assessment and collection of taxes.

Debt policies and fund management.

Budget making and administration.

Government purchasing.

Government accounting.

Management of municipal public works.

Street cleaning and refuse disposal.

Management of parks and playgrounds.

Public health administration.

Management of charitable and correctional institutions.

Police administration.

Fire administration.

Municipal public utilities.

Management of public education.

It is not contended that in this or any school city managers can be made to order, but only that the development of such schooling at New York and elsewhere is due to be an important factor in rounding out the success of the commission-manager movement.

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL VOTES OF 1919

BY RUSSELL RAMSEY

Under the arrangement with the late Charles Fremont Taylor by which we absorbed "Equity," we are pledged to gather annually all information obtainable regarding the operation of the initiative, referendum and recall in the United States. :: :: :: ::

THIS inquiry was instituted primarily to locate and review cases of the use of the initiative and of the kind of referendum that involves a petition which compels the suspension of a new law or ordinance and its reference to a popular vote.

Politically 1919 was an off year almost everywhere. Eleven "initiative and referendum" states held no elections of any character. Of two states which held elections for candidates, the initiative and referendum was used in one; of five states holding special elections called by the legislature, the initiative and referendum was used in two. The nature of the measures submitted, and the result of the vote, may be summarized as follows:

<i>Proposed by</i>	<i>Adopted</i>	<i>Rejected</i>	<i>Total</i>
Initiative petition . . .	0	3	3
Referendum petition . .	8	2	10
State legislatures	12	7	19
	—	—	—
Totals	20	12	32

Despite special clipping service, dragnet letters of inquiry, and the examination of the data regarding 154 questions that were submitted in various places, only one example was found of a popularly-initiated municipal referendum vote in 1919—in itself an interesting and significant fact to both the friends and foes of this institution.

This case was in Oakland, California, where it appears that the members of the fire department secured the

two-platoon system by an appeal to the people over the heads of the city authorities.

STATE REFERENDA BY PETITION

As compared with the highest vote cast in state elections, where candidates were also voted for, the average vote cast on the highest referred measures was 92 per cent; that on the lowest, 79; and the average on all measures, 85 per cent. As compared with the total number of ballots cast in state elections, at which only referred measures were voted on, the average vote cast on all measures was 95 per cent.

Of all referendum elections held during 1919, probably the most interesting and important was that in North Dakota, where an unusual situation arose. In this case, instead of being invoked by a progressive or liberal element against a conservative or reactionary legislature, as is ordinarily assumed to be the function of the referendum, it was used by the conservative element, represented by the independent voters' association, against seven measures passed by the legislature controlled by the non-partisan league, and the operation of these measures suspended until the question of their acceptance was answered by the general electorate. These seven legislative acts were: (1) senate bill no. 157, creating a state publication

and printing commission; (2) senate bill no. 134, creating a board of administration for the management of penal, charitable, and educational institutions and public schools; (3) senate bill no. 67, providing for the appointment of a state tax commissioner with extensive authority; (4) house bill no. 123, creating the office of commissioner of immigration for the purpose of bringing settlers, investors, and industries to the state; (5) house bill no. 17, creating an industrial commission to manage state utilities and industries; (6) house bill no. 124, reorganizing the judicial districts and system; and (7) house bill no. 18, establishing a state bank. As the result of an exceedingly hard and bitter campaign all seven of these laws were approved by majorities of from 6,814 to 10,917, the total number of ballots cast being 111,814. The smallest vote cast on any of the laws was 98 per cent of the total.

Maine voted on and adopted five constitutional amendments submitted by the legislature. These amendments provided: (1) for regulating the militia; (2) for empowering a voter to vote for state officials in the town where his voting residence has been established, for a period of three months after his removal to another town; (3) for a bond issue to establish adequate port facilities in the state; (4) for increasing the state debt; and (5) for increasing state highway bonds.

The voters of Massachusetts passed affirmatively on the rearrangement of the constitution submitted by the constitutional committee. They also had before them a referendum question growing out of an act passed by the legislature in January, 1919, prohibiting the payment of interest on savings bank deposits of trust companies more often than semi-annually and from monies which had been on deposit for

the preceding six months. This was promoted by conservative banking interests to head off the practice starting among progressive bankers to pay interest on money on deposit less than six months and pay it monthly if desired. On April 28, a referendum petition was filed against this act by the progressive banking interests. The legislature on July 18, 1919, reversed its former action, permitted payments of interest according to the by-laws of the individual bank, from one to six months, and the people at the election approved the latter act of the legislature by a majority of 46,724 in a total vote of 367,548. Voters in separate legislative districts also passed on the question of instructing their legislators to vote for legislation regulating and licensing the manufacture and sale of beverages containing not over 4 per cent of alcohol, and to define such beverages as non-intoxicating. From the returns received it appears that all senators and representatives were so instructed, except only thirteen members of the lower house.

Five referendum questions were submitted to Ohio voters: (1) defining the phrase "intoxicating liquors"; (2) repealing state-wide prohibition; (3) ratifying national prohibition; (4) providing for the enforcement of state prohibition; and (5) classifying property for purposes of taxation. Of these, (1) and (2) were submitted by initiative petition, (3) and (4) by referendum petition, and (5) by the legislature. According to the figures furnished us by the secretary of state, all five measures were rejected; but some of the results, notably the vote on federal prohibition, are being contested.

Illinois, in addition to electing delegates to a constitutional convention, by its advisory referendum process, passed on three questions of public policy which were submitted

to the voters; namely, (1) an initiative and referendum provision for the new constitution; (2) the "gateway" amendment, a provision that the initiative and referendum amendment, when embodied in the new constitution, shall be separately submitted to the voters, to take effect, if approved, as part of either the old or new constitution; and (3) a provision for the new constitution permitting state or municipal ownership of public utilities. All three questions were approved by substantial majorities.

On initiative petition in Michigan a constitutional amendment was submitted to the voters relative to the importation, buying, and selling of beer and light wine, which was defeated by a majority of 207,000 in a total vote of 852,000, a larger vote than that cast for governor by 200,000 votes. The legislature also submitted two amendments: one, authorizing the state to issue highway bonds, was adopted; the other, relative to changes in salaries of public officers, was defeated.

The legislature of Oklahoma submitted five constitutional amendments: (1) raising debt limitation counties from 2 to 6 per cent of assessed valuation for permanent roads; (2) permitting the legislature to locate an industrial and reconstruction hospital outside the seat of government; (3) permitting the issue of state bonds for the payment of interest on irrigation bonds, and providing for repayment; (4) to bond the state for not more than \$5,000,000 to promote reclamation in land settlement projects, and (5) for the election of a lieutenant-governor. Of these only the first and third were adopted. Four legislative acts were also referred to the people for action: (1) a statute to appropriate \$2,500,000 to be raised by the sale of bonds for building the proposed Roose-

velt coast military highway provided the federal government appropriates same amount; (2) a statute to bond the state for \$5,000,000, to construct various hospitals, educational buildings, armories, penitentiaries, and reclaim arid swamp and logged off lands for returned soldiers; (3) a statute providing that honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines of the state be granted not more than \$200 per year for expenses if attending any public or private educational institution in Oregon; and (4) a statute to levy an annual tax of one mill on all taxable property and apportion it among the counties for the construction of market highways. Of these four measures all but the second were adopted.

The voters of Oklahoma defeated a proposal offered by the legislature for a bond issue of \$50,000,000 to begin a system of hard-surface state roads; the kind of roads and details were indefinite.

RECALL ELECTIONS

Two instances of the recall were found—Colorado Springs where an attempt to recall Mayor Thomas was defeated at the polls, and Charlotte, North Carolina, the story of which was told in detail in our January issue.

Further details from Oakland and Colorado Springs are being sought for publication here later if found to be of interest. If any reader knows of other cases of initiative, referendum, by protest, petition or recall, please report it.

ORDINARY REFERENDA

In several other states various issues were submitted by the legislature to the people at the November election.

In New York four constitutional amendments were submitted. Of these, two were adopted; one to

provide for absentee voting; the other, mysteriously known as the "swamp amendment," declaring the use of property for the drainage of swamp or agricultural lands to be a public use and providing that the compensation and cost of such drainage may be assessed wholly or partly against any property benefited thereby. The remaining two amendments, providing for salary increases for the members of the legislature and judges of the court of appeals, were decisively defeated.

In Kentucky two constitutional amendments were approved, one for state prohibition and another prohibiting mob law.

Texas voters adopted constitutional amendments authorizing the city of Galveston to issue bonds for building levees, and increasing the pensions of confederate soldiers. Four other constitutional amendments were defeated, together with a proposal for a constitutional revision convention.

MUNICIPAL REFERENDA

Among the cities, beside the usual grist of votes on bond issues and charter alterations, several constantly recurring items will be observed, traceable to post-war and high-price conditions.

A number of Massachusetts cities voted individually on the acceptance of certain legislative acts. The act to provide for the division into day and night forces of permanent members of fire departments, known as the two-platoon system, was accepted by the cities of Haverhill, Pittsfield, Somerville, Fitchburg, New Bedford, Lawrence, Revere, and Taunton, and was rejected by Brookline. All of these cities, and in addition Holyoke, North Adams, Medford, and Waltham, also accepted the act relating to the

establishment and maintenance of continuation schools and courses of instruction for employed minors. Somerville accepted also an act providing for biennial elections.

New Haven, Connecticut, voters confirmed by referendum vote the question of establishing a municipal ice plant and of issuing bonds for not more than \$500,000 to pay for it.

Niagara Falls, New York, at a special tax election on November 18, vetoed by referendum the proposal to issue bonds for the acquisition of a certain plot of ground on which to establish a civic center. Auburn, New York, indorsed the two-platoon system for the fire department.

The two-platoon system for firemen was also a referendum issue in several New Jersey cities; Jersey City, West Hoboken, and West New York approving, while East Orange disapproved. West New York also defeated a salary increase for the mayor and members of the council. Hoboken, on the other hand, by referendum, increased the salaries of the mayor and commissioners, while Perth Amboy increased police salaries, and Newark and Kearney increased both police and firemen's salaries.

Passaic voters approved increased salaries for firemen and a municipal water works, but defeated an increase in the salary of the commissioners and the firemen's monument project.

In Ohio, Youngstown affirmed an increased tax levy and Canton negatived a similar question. Newark by referendum adopted the two-platoon fireman system.

The voters of Chicago voted on two important referendum questions, approving the abolition of party primaries for aldermen and providing for nomination by petition and a non-partisan ballot, and defeating by a comparatively small margin the bill

to reduce to fifty the number of wards in the city. The latter measure was declared carried on unofficial figures, but the official count reversed this result.

Two other Illinois cities resorted to the referendum, Rockford to indorse a bond issue and an increased school tax rate, and Bloomington to establish a sanitary district.

In Michigan, Saginaw sanctioned a six-cent trolley fare. Kalamazoo rejected a bond issue for a municipal electric light plant to sell light to household and commercial consumers. Grand Rapids adopted a series of charter amendments providing for direct legislation by initiation, valuation of public utilities, municipal markets, an increased tax rate, and bond issues for city hospitals and new schools.

In Wisconsin, Duluth negated by a vote of almost two to one the proposition that the city acquire the street railway system. Oshkosh voted to establish a municipal fuel yard and an ice plant; only the first of the projects was achieved, however, the appropriation for the ice plant being insufficient. Madison and Sheboygan both passed favorably by a large majority on the soldiers, sailors, and marines' bonus law.

By a special act of the legislature Lincoln, Nebraska, voted on the question of acquiring the Lincoln traction company, the result being against the proposition.

In Iowa, Des Moines approved the purchase of the local water plant and authorized a six-cent trolley fare; Burlington went a step further and approved a seven-cent fare.

Denver, Colorado, defeated two referred ordinances, both relating to a change of the street railway fare. Colorado Springs defeated three referred ordinances—one relating to places of public entertainment; one for the municipal purchase of the local light, heat, and power plant; and one for the municipal ownership of the local traction system.

Portland, Oregon, increased the tax levy from 8 to 11 mills.

In Washington, Spokane negated the proposed municipal purchase or development of a hydro-electric power plant; adopted a charter amendment fixing the commissioners' bond; and defeated two other charter amendments, one making street railway companies liable to the city for damages sustained by it, and one increasing the commissioners' salaries.

The voters of Baltimore county, Maryland, passed favorably on the question of a charter commission to frame a new form of government for the county.

Lexington, Kentucky, approved bonds to the amount of \$1,275,000 for schools, streets, a war-memorial building, and a city hall and auditorium; while in the same state Paducah, in addition to indorsing bonds for \$500,000 for schools and sewers, voted to retain the commission form of government, and disapproved a bond issue of \$100,000 to enlarge the municipal lighting plant for commercial-lighting purposes.

An amendment to the street railway franchise, permitting a seven-cent fare, was defeated by the voters of Jacksonville, Florida.

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR GENEROSITY

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

This year, national, civic and social associations in petitioning the public for funds will begin to say that they have met the standards of the National Information Bureau (New York) which is attempting to make the charity dollar do an honest dollar's work. :: :: ::

THE war is won. The war fund drives, joint and single, are for the most part matters of history. We have emptied our pockets. The nation has acquitted itself nobly.

So much admitted—and admitted with a profound realization of the personal heroism, the persistent unselfishness, the astounding effectiveness, displayed by thousands of war-workers—it becomes proper and perhaps even profitable to consider briefly the other side of the shield.

There was a time, not so long past in months and days, though remote enough from our present temper, when it was a simple matter to launch a war charity. One needed, first, a lady, preferably a lady with a position in society (either as a background or as an objective). To the lady one added a committee. The committee was usually composed of delegations from the ranks of other ladies similarly equipped but a little less aggressive than the leading lady, and from large business interests. The business men were acquired, without much difficulty, by any sufficiently persistent lady, and if she happened to be of magnetic personality they fairly elbowed each other for an opportunity to champion her. They seldom paused to inquire very deeply into the cause she represented.

For there usually was a cause. It didn't much matter what it was, so long as it was conceivably related to the war and looked overseas for its ultimate effect. Sometimes several

groups of earnest ladies happened on the same cause, in which case an observant bystander was reminded, oh, so faintly, of the behavior of six sparrows who simultaneously discover the same chunk of stale bread.

THE SOB-SISTERS

Given the lady, the committee and the cause, and the charity was under full swing. It was the easiest thing in the world to find a skilled, aggressive publicity man or woman. They abounded. They forsook relatively conservative professions like daily journalism and oil stock selling to offer themselves on the altar of war work, at so much per offer. A full-throated campaign of sob-stuff was initiated over night. Editors already tearing their hair at the sight of their morning mail, to which government departments, state councils, national agencies, and unofficial cranks were contributing their prodigious bit, were besieged with fresh appeals whose poignancy was directly proportioned to the publicity appropriation.

Postmen fainted. Multigraph manufacturers bought Rolls Royces. Office boys struck at emptying the wastebasket oftener than once an hour. But the public kept right on paying.

Whether because of the avalanche of publicity or in spite of it, the American pocket gaped permanently. The ladies sold buttons. They tagged the passer-by. They danced, æsthetically

and otherwise. They sold old ball-gowns at rummage sales and bought new ones for charity hops. They bustled around with pledge-cards. They wheedled millionaires. Reluctantly, they loaned their photographs to the editor. They wrote books. They wrote begging-letters. They kissed the highest bidder. And they got the cash.

What they did with it, some of them hardly knew. They honestly thought they were doing good with it, and so they were—with what was left after the publicity man and the printer and the première danseuse had been paid. But the idea of rigid accounting was foreign to their experience. They did not flout sound business principles; they just hadn't been introduced to them. And they were too terribly rushed, anyway.

This is not fancy, but fact. A well known New York woman has admitted blandly that she really had no idea how much money she raised. An organization, to which the district attorney gave some attention, was conducted for months by a gentleman who kept its accounts under his hat, according to the statement of his paid assistant.

And how much effort was wasted! There was a little hospital in France, conducted by a number of ladies who fell out sadly. One good angel, being set upon by a hostile majority, withdrew altogether, leaving a large check in the hands of an executive as the basis for further disagreements. The remaining ladies soon quarrelled violently with the executive, expressing their sentiments by neglecting to pay her salary, while she retaliated (so they said) by running up huge expense accounts and finally by emptying the hospital and taking herself back to the states. Meanwhile the cause, needless to say, languished, though in itself it deserved well of the giving public.

THOSE "BENEFITS"

"Benefits" that do not benefit have been a notorious factor in charitable operations ever since it was discovered that the army and navy bazaar in New York (according to the statement of the assistant district attorney in an official report) produced a net sum of \$645 for relief after \$72,000 had been taken from a festive and friendly public.

That was back in 1917, but the lesson, unfortunately, was *not* learned once for all. Since the armistice a committee engaged in war relief has been responsible for four benefits of various sorts, all fashionable and decorative, the average expenses of which have been 79 per cent of the gross revenue. In two cases the outgo was considerably in excess of the entire receipts. Not only did every dollar so "given" find its way into some pocket—no doubt a deserving one *per se*—which had no conceivable relation to the work in question, but it took with it a generous slice of some other dollar. Unlucky enough both for the giver and for the theoretical beneficiary! This was not foreseen by the well-meaning committee, perhaps—but it should have been.

Sometimes the thing was done in cold blood. A performance for the benefit of a "morale fund" was projected, from which—had the federal government not intervened—80 per cent of the proceeds would have been taken, *according to contract*, by the professional promoter. His morale, at least, needed no fortification.

THE COMING OF ORDER

Out of this welter of selfishness masquerading as mercy, amateur incompetence elbowing scientific relief, and good men and women scrambling

for an opportunity to help others—or themselves—came the fine, substantial service of America to a broken world. Appreciable aid was given to the really constructive forces by the critical activity of the National Information Bureau. This was originally the joint agent of a number of the larger war chests, which had organized it as a means of securing disinterested information about the hundreds of appeals for appropriations with which their trustees were bombarded. With millions of dollars of public gifts thus mobilized behind it, the bureau was in a position to take an influential stand for responsible, sensible, effective methods. Adopting a set of standards which called for full accountability to the public, and which deprecated such abuses as solicitation on commission, topheavy entertainments, and duplication of effort, this investigating agency soon rallied the genuinely useful organizations to its platform and was thus enabled to deal effectively with the others.

One of its inflexible requirements for endorsement was that the society in question must have its accounts audited at least annually by a certified public accountant or trust company. Forty-four war relief funds adopted this essential safeguard at the suggestion and with the help of the bureau. More than a score of unwarranted or inflated appeals were either entirely headed off or materially reduced as a result of its negotiations. In a year's study of war charities, the bureau was actually forced to refuse endorsement to more organizations than it found worthy—109 to 97—and many of those which it did endorse eventually changed their methods for the better before endorsement was possible. The improvement in financial methods, direction of effort, and general efficiency, which resulted from its constructive

suggestions, cannot be measured by any figures.

The leverage exerted by the bureau has been applied chiefly by confidential reports to its members, whose gifts since these inquiries were begun have totalled more than forty million dollars. Successive lists of endorsed war charities, given to the press and issued in pamphlet form, served to protect the general public. In cases of demonstrable fraud the bureau has co-operated fully with the public authorities.

NEEDED IN PEACE

While the muddle of the war charities thus called the bureau into being, it actually met a need which had been felt and expressed by social workers and by the public for at least twenty years. An essential factor in recent charity movements has been the attempt to standardize and evaluate local philanthropic enterprises, with an eye to the conservation, for the benefit of thoroughly responsible agencies, of charitable resources. These resources are not unlimited, as the present status of war relief clearly indicates. A similar service, from a somewhat different viewpoint, has been rendered by the charity investigation committees of many chambers of commerce, notably those in Cleveland, Chicago, and Rochester, New York.

While some attempts had been made by local investigating bodies to exchange information, no effective mechanism for the study of interstate and national solicitations had been found prior to the formation of this bureau. A conference of business men, community chest officials, and social workers, which met last summer to review its work, decided, therefore, that it should continue its service after the lapse of the war relief enterprises and extend its investigations to

all organizations asking funds from the public (except on a limited local basis) for social, civic or philanthropic purposes. The board of directors was so constituted that it represents both the groups which are vitally interested in charity endorsement: the contributing public and responsible social work executives. Suitable safeguards are provided to insure full impartiality of action.

When all is said and done, these solicitations do need investigation. Fine as is the record of scores of long-established, level-headed, substantial societies, they are constantly forced to compete for support with fly-by-night schemes, shoddy appeals, disingenuous enterprises of half-commercial and wholly selfish character, and even with downright frauds. Clearly, the agreement of the reputable organizations to maintain accepted standards is the first and necessary step toward adequate control of the unworthy ones.

There are quaint but parasitical negro organizations which go on year after year collecting a copper here and a quarter there for hypothetical or ill-conducted orphanages—the Sons of God, Saints of Christ, and Daughters of Jerusalem, for instance, or the relief committee of Hebrew settlement workers, whose ebony elders claim to be the only true Hebrews and to speak a divinely inspired language. There are publications without number which send their solicitors from house to house to make shadowy claims that the proceeds are used for various charitable purposes. Every year there is a fresh crop of wholly superfluous societies which attempt to duplicate the work of others already well serving their respective ends.

There is an excellent "home" in an eastern city which through some lapse of good judgment allowed a manufacturing concern to peddle its household

wares on the understanding that 10 per cent of the net profits should go to the "home." The confidential instructions to the salesmen-solicitors of this company, as published in the daily press, deserve still wider publicity:

"'Good morning' or 'good afternoon' (as the case may be)" they were directed to say. "'I am representing the — home. Our home is located at —. Here is a picture of the home!'"

(Pause for a second, but continue before your prospect can ask a question.)

"'The work we are doing at the home is truly wonderful. . . . Here are some of the children.' . . . (At this point lower your voice to a real confidential tone. This gives your prospect the idea that your story is intended for her ears alone.) 'There is one case in particular,' . . . and so on.

One is reminded of the good lady who, innocently enough, wrote as follows:

"I do not think our membership fee could be called a voluntary contribution, as our members are enrolled by solicitors in the field"—by force?

In correcting abuses, discouraging unwarranted appeals, and building up a sound financial technique on the part of the really deserving societies, the bureau makes use of a definite set of standards formulated by its board of directors, which, as has been said, is unique in its joint representation of the contributing public and organized social work. It contains such men as Samuel Mather, of Cleveland; Paul D. Cravath, of New York; Rush Rhees, of the University of Rochester; George Wharton Pepper, of Philadelphia; C. A. Severance, of St. Paul; Samuel Insull, of Chicago; and among social workers Owen R. Lovejoy, of the National Child Labor Committee; Allen T. Burns of the Carnegie Corporation; Willoughby Walling of the

Red Cross; and Lawson Purdy of the National Municipal League.

THE PRESENT STANDARDS

1. Active and responsible governing body holding regular meetings, or other satisfactory form of administrative control.

2. A legitimate purpose with no avoidable duplication of the work of another efficiently managed organization.

3. Reasonable efficiency in conduct of work, management of institutions, etc., and reasonable adequacy of equipment for such work, both material and personal.

4. No solicitors on commission or other commission methods of raising money.

5. Non-use of the "remit or return" method of raising money by the sale of merchandise or tickets.

6. No entertainments for money raising purposes, the expenses of which exceed 30 per cent of the gross proceeds.

7. Ethical methods of publicity, promotion and solicitation of funds.

8. Agreement to consult and co-operate with the proper social agencies in local communities with reference to local programs and budgets.

9. Complete annual audited accounts prepared by a certified public accountant or trust company showing receipts and disbursements classified, and itemized in detail. New organizations which cannot furnish such statement should submit a certified public accountant's statement that such a financial system has been established as will make the required financial accounting possible at close of prescribed period.

10. Itemized and classified annual budget estimate.

Since the bureau is endeavoring to bring about a progressive improve-

ment in social service methods it has also formulated certain recommendations, as follows:

1. The discontinuance of (a) street soliciting; (b) the sale of tags, buttons, etc.; (c) the raising of funds by placing collection boxes in stores, etc.; (d) entertainments for revenue.

2. Careful consideration of publicity methods for the avoidance of misleading impressions.

3. More careful attention to budget making, including budgets for local communities.

4. The adoption of the duplicate receipt and voucher system.

These will arouse a sympathetic murmur of approval from a long-suffering public. But the bureau does not now consider these additional details in reaching its decision as to the worth of a society under investigation.

Endorsement is based on the extent to which the organization conforms to the ten standards, supplemented by such inquiry as may be necessary in any particular case to determine the actual spirit and character of the work done and the agreement between the society's promises and performance. Experienced investigators secure necessary, pertinent information wherever it is to be found. The bureau has confidential relations with foreign correspondents and co-operates fully with responsible local investigating authorities.

The service of the bureau as a purely protective agency has been and will continue to be considerable. The prevention by the bureau, during recent months, of a single undesirable campaign for many million dollars, for which national headquarters had been opened and a campaign manager secured, represents a saving of charitable resources that in itself more than repays the expense of maintaining the bureau for many years. But still more important is its influence in

building up desirable practices in social work, in strengthening the hands of the self-respecting societies against irresponsible and disingenuous promoters, in actively furthering effective co-operation between parallel agencies, in reinforcing every genuine effort for social betterment.

In this endeavor the bureau deserves, and is already securing, the co-operation of substantial social organizations on the one hand, and chambers of commerce, civic clubs, and many careful givers on the other. It is trying to make the world safe for generosity.

ENDORSEMENT OF CHARITIES BY CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

BY ROBERT W. KELSO

In over a hundred cities the chambers of commerce have taken on the function of checking up the local social agencies that appeal to the public for contributions. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE widespread movement for the regulation of charitable undertakings by chambers of commerce is the intermediate stage in a process of community supervision that has three distinct steps. Beginning in the '80s many charity organization societies yielded to continuous inquiry from subscribers as to the conduct and standing of the charitable agencies with which they came in contact, and developed "investigating departments." Their first object was to inform the inquirer, usually a prospective contributor, as to the value and worthiness of the enterprise. From this point of view they broadened to the rôle of community overseer of the charity group. This was the first step in the process.

In the capacity of community overseer, the charity organization society, however, found its limitations too great. It was itself a charitable agency and as such to some degree a competitor before the donating public. The need of neutral oversight became urgent, the necessity for protecting the community remaining constant. Charities multiplied; they overlapped

in their activities; they vied with each other for support; and the contributor was much confused in his giving.

Now it so happened that the majority of those contributors found themselves united for business purposes. They were members of chambers of commerce or boards of trade. They could at least protect their benevolences by insuring themselves against fraud. They proceeded, therefore, through the machinery of sub-committees on charitable organizations to call soliciting societies to account. They sought, like the Boston chamber, to pursue fraudulent solicitation and false pretenses, each member to be entitled to the services of this sub-committee in a review of the concern that asked him to contribute. Hence it was that the process of community regulation of charities passed naturally into its second stage.

One association after another took up this new function until at the present time there are more than one hundred cities in which the chamber of commerce exercises a self-appointed supervision over local social agencies.

THE ENDORSEMENT CARD

To secure more effective control, and in particular to obviate the labor of separate response to each call from the members, the endorsement card was invented. This method, as now employed, places the committee in effect behind the soliciting agency as sponsor. In the matter of control it is as effective as a definite license, since a charity without such endorsement is deprived of much of its support, and the business men are largely the people who contribute. For instance, about 80 per cent of the givers to charity in Cleveland are members of the chamber. The endorsement method has been adopted by all but a small minority of these commercial bodies.

It was obvious from the beginning of the experiment that intelligent sanction could not be given without the development of standards in social service, which might serve as a basis for judgment. If its remedy was to cover the community need, the chamber must become community supervisor; must develop a system of investigation; must take measures to keep itself posted, through report and inquiry, of the conduct of endorsed agencies and societies desiring endorsement. In effect it must cease to represent its own members only, as at the outset, and must become agent for all the people of the community.

STANDARDS IN SOCIAL AGENCIES

The requirements of the Chicago chamber are illustrative of the standards thus imposed. Its endorsement committee requires that all societies seeking its backing must be incorporated; must develop a local board of directors which shall meet at least quarterly; must publish a report of their year's work; must employ ap-

proved methods in the raising of funds; their accounts must be audited by a public accountant: plans for new societies must have been passed upon by experts before adoption; the candidate must co-operate with other agencies in its field; and it must make use of the confidential exchange.

These standards set out the minimum guarantee of efficiency and represent in substance the most advanced stand taken in the charity endorsement movement.

They are suggestive also of a still broader field for the supervisor. What is to be done with the refractory agency? What with the predatory solicitor? How shall the chamber, upon the discovery of an urgent social need in its city, establish a social agency to take care of it? On what justification can it draw back from constructive effort against all the unsocial conditions with which its experiment brings it in contact? The foremost executives in the movement are emphatic in their assertions that endorsing bodies to be effective must assume a definitely constructive and supervisory capacity; that they must concern themselves with every unsocial condition in the community. The farther the movement proceeds, the clearer becomes the perspective of the community needs and the relationship between the public and the charitable undertakings that serve it.

THE FINANCIAL FEDERATION

With this broadening perspective as the fundamental moving force, and with a desire for greater business efficiency among charitable societies as the occasion, a new outgrowth of the endorsement movement has occurred and is still in its flood tide. This is the *financial federation*. Through it the chambers of commerce have sought

to render the supervisory instrument more nearly co-extensive with the entire public than the commercial body as such could be, and to unify the group of social agencies to a greater degree than under the old endorsement plan.

Save in the sporadic case of Denver, this new phase began in 1910 with the organization of the Elmira "Allied Charities." San Antonio, Texas, followed in 1912 and Cleveland in 1913. Widespread publicity focussed national attention upon the Cleveland experiment and produced an immediate crop of converts. Dayton, Richmond, South Bend, New Orleans, Salt Lake City, and Birmingham, Alabama, organized in 1914. In 1915 five more entered the list: Cincinnati, Dallas, Oshkosh, Erie and Baltimore. A like number joined the procession in 1916: St. Joseph, Grand Rapids, Milwaukee, Springfield, Mass., and Houston, Tex.

Though six of these twenty experiments have already failed, a search in 1917 revealed the fact that 48 cities in the United States and Canada either had been or were at that time considering the formation of financial federations.¹

The details of the federation plan vary, but in its essentials it calls for a council or union of a portion or all of the social agencies of the community. The local chamber of commerce does not necessarily take a share as a constituent agency. Almost all federations pool the collection of funds and at least one, that in Cleveland, includes public agencies. The governing board is variously chosen. In the main the power lies in the constituent agencies by representation. In Cleveland the first arrangement called for a board selected partly by contributors

and partly by the chamber of commerce, but in the re-organization of 1916 this power of selection was lodged completely in the affiliated organizations.

CHARACTERISTICS AND TENDENCIES OF FEDERATION

In ten of the cities now federated, the impulse came from the local commercial organizations, showing this stage to be a logical outgrowth of the chamber of commerce excursion among the social agencies. Of the social tendencies set up by these experiments, the time has been too short for final judgment. It is more than likely, however, that the findings of the special study made in 1917 by the American association for organizing charity will prove correct in all particulars. This verdict is that the federation is first and by necessity financial. It must succeed in bringing in funds; but in order to do this, it must guarantee the donor from outside solicitation; it must use the "whirlwind campaign" in order to raise money; and it must encourage "undesigned" gifts. Of these practices, the committee finds proof that immunity "sets up a barrier between those who are afire with the facts regarding a given activity and those who need to be kindled with their enthusiasm"; that the whirlwind campaign, thus far the only certain money-getter of the federation, is spectacular merely, displaying only the high lights and "cannot be depended upon to establish deep and permanent interest in social work"; and finally, that the "undesigned" fund tends to eliminate social thinking on the part of the public.

The tendency toward federation is strong. It is not too much to say that there is unrest and indecision on this question among the socially-minded citizens of every considerable city in

¹ Financial Federations Report of a Special Committee. American Association for Organized Charities, N. Y., 1917.

the United States and Canada. Already the relentless logic of the problem is ushering in the third stage of the major process; municipal regulation through boards of public welfare. Albany, Cincinnati, Dallas, Fort Worth, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Sioux City, Spokane, Springfield, O., and Yonkers, N. Y., have undertaken through the medium of the city government to effect the same objects in social betterment that have been aimed at by the charity organization societies in the first instance and by the chambers of commerce following them. In this list of cities it is to be noted that in Cincinnati and Spokane, the system cannot be considered completely municipal.

Mention has been made of the "relentless logic of the problem." When the charity organization societies bestirred themselves to encourage such a relationship among the social agencies of their locality as would bring about better standards of service, they were recognizing a fundamental fact in the status of each of those agencies which, though it remained unexpressed was still, like unseen stellar bodies, known to be present. When the chambers of commerce sought first for selfish reasons and later out of a desire for better social conditions to enforce a higher grade of service from charities, they were taking into account that same known but unrecognized proposition and the correlaries that arose out of it. It is that

A SOCIAL AGENCY IS A PUBLIC TRUST

"Of course!" the reader may say, "Of course! That we have known for a long time." Yet, by the practice, if not the law of our several states, any group of persons may secure a public franchise for the asking, upon their unsupported assertion that they in-

tend works of charity. Their enterprise is not for profit; it is, therefore, nobody's business but their own. While the government has taken this unthinking view, the troubled course of society in our cities has been teaching us that the fundamental status of the charitable society and its true relationship to the public cannot be ignored. The social organization is a trustee for the benefit of the whole people. It is responsible to the whole people. Its task is the most difficult, perhaps, in the range of social experience. If it does a poor piece of work, it is vastly worse than no effort at all. Its aim is the public good. If under the claims of social service it seeks to perpetuate itself where no genuine need exists, it betrays its trust. If it wastes the fund which it holds in trust for the public by improvident investment or useless expenditures or the employment of incompetent agents, again it betrays its trust. If, falling into no specific wrong, it nevertheless carries on its functions with such a wretched degree of competence that no genuine good results to the community, here also it betrays its trust.

It is for the public,—the beneficiary of these trusts—to demand intelligence and high efficiency. It is they only, in the last analysis, who can develop standards of service and hold their servants up to them. And it is this "relentless logic" of the problem that constitutes the impelling force behind community organization to regulate charities.

Systems of government arise out of the customs of the people. This instance of charity regulation is no exception. The socially minded members of the community recognize the need and dimly they perceive the remedy. Thus far observers of this process of supervision have been absorbed in its methods and details.

They have said little about its moving principle. In truth the initial experiment of the charity organization societies, the endorsement systems, the financial federations and the municipal regulations represent parts of one continuous experiment in governmental oversight carried on by private citizens, tending always toward the placement of the function in the government itself.

The American citizen has fallen pardonably into a way of thinking that the last instrument for effective government is the government itself; that in the conduct of American cities it is impossible to place honest and efficient servants in public office, and that if such appointments could be assured their continuance would be a miracle in city government. It is this attitude that has postponed the day of the municipal system of charity regulation. But the demonstration has now been made. The American city of the future is more than likely

to concentrate its study and regulation of all its social enterprises in a few servants and hold those servants to account. This they will do pending the time—greatly hastened by the centralizing influences of war—when the state as ultimate sovereign shall inaugurate the supervision of all public welfare enterprises on the principle that these are vital public trusts.

In the consummation of this great result the demonstration of the endorsement committee and the federation is far from its termination. The public must be brought to a real appreciation of the vital and dangerous character of organized social undertakings. They must appreciate the necessity of higher standards in the public service. These results cannot be secured without a continuing demonstration by socially-minded citizens organized for the purpose. Tribute, then, to our chambers of commerce; and welcome to boards of public welfare, but not before their time.

JACKSON AND ITS MANAGER

BY AUGUSTUS R. HATTON

For example, when Jackson was threatened by the 1917 coal famine, the city government promptly bought a nearby abandoned coal mine, mined the coal at a profit till the crisis passed, then sold the equipment and now collects royalties from a lessee. :: :: :: :: ::

FIFTEEN years ago Jackson, Michigan, was a town of possibly 25,000 inhabitants. It had ninety saloons, the greater portion of which had wine rooms or alcoves, the doors of which could be locked. There was a city council of sixteen members, five of whom were saloon keepers and one, the city boss, was a brewer. Vice was tolerated, crime was none too well controlled and, in the vicious section of the city, murders were frequent. Jackson was a tough town. In the words of a prominent citizen who went through that period, "The only characteristic of a western border town in the good old days which Jackson lacked was gangs of cowboys whooping, shooting and running their horses through the streets."

The visitor of to-day will find it hard to believe that these things could have been so recently true. Jackson is now a city of between 50,000 and 55,000 population. The principal streets are well paved and clean. There are large and flourishing industries, good schools and some excellent school buildings, a beautiful public library, special buildings for the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., and a well-equipped and managed city hospital. The saloons are gone, though for that the city is not entirely responsible. In place of the old mayor and ward council government there has been for nearly five years a city commission of five, chosen from the city at large, which appoints a city manager and

certain other executive officers. To-day the city of Jackson gives evidence of being sound and clean financially, physically and morally.

As this is an article devoted to the working of the manager plan in Jackson, it would be pleasant and impressive to record that all this transformation came about as a result of the adoption of that scheme of government. But any such statement would be in large measure untrue, although the new government has been an effective instrument of progress. The fact is that the struggle toward better things began about fifteen years ago. There was gradual progress and an increasing sense of civic pride. The adoption of the manager plan was merely a step in the general advance—the time had come when the people realized that the old government was inadequate for the realization of their new civic aspirations.

THE CHARTER AND A DEFECT

The charter under which Jackson is governed went into effect January 1, 1915. It provides for a commission consisting of a mayor and four other members, all elected from the city at large for four-year terms. The mayor is voted for separately, although aside from his position as presiding officer of the commission, conservator of the peace and ceremonial head of the city government he has the same powers as other commissioners. Candidates for

mayor and commissioners are nominated at a non-partisan primary and may have their names printed on the primary ballot upon petition of from 100 to 150 voters. The terms of commissioners are so arranged that either the mayor and two commissioners, or two commissioners alone, are elected every second year. The two candidates for mayor and four candidates for commissioner receiving the highest votes at the primary election have their names printed on the election ballot.

Under this charter somewhat greater appointing power is conferred on the commission than is usually found in manager charters elsewhere. In addition to the manager the commission appoints the clerk, treasurer, attorney, city physician, health officer, sanitary inspector, assessor, and designates some officer of the city to act as purchasing agent. Just why the appointment of the city physician, health officer, sanitary inspector and purchasing agent should have been conferred upon the commission is difficult to see. In the end it will certainly prove that it would have been wiser to have made them subordinate to the city manager. So far, however, there has been the heartiest possible co-operation between the manager and these officials.

Such being the charter, what can be said of results under it? This question is especially interesting because manager government in Jackson has entered its second phase. That is to say, the plan is no longer regarded as an experiment or a novelty. Its retention is taken as a matter of course by an overwhelming majority of the people. Voters, on the whole, have no thought of returning to the old order of things but think only of achieving their civic purposes by means of the existing instrument of government. It should not be supposed that there is not some

dissatisfaction with details of the present charter. The point is that if changes are proposed they will be with the idea of improving the manager system and not for the purpose of overthrowing it.

STRAIGHTFORWARD FINANCE

The usual point of departure in reviewing a city government is finance, though nothing must be treated more carefully if it is not to be misleading. City manager government went into effect in Jackson at the beginning of 1915. The tax rate for the previous year had been .9 per cent. This rate was continued during the next four years but the assessed valuation of property upon which it was levied was increased in 1917, from \$35,000,000 to \$41,800,000. In other words, with no change in the tax rate, the tax revenues of the city were over 19 per cent greater in 1918 than in 1914. This increase in income would probably have been adequate to care for the needs of the rapidly growing city under normal conditions. But, added to the service which must be rendered to a much greater population, there was the unprecedented rise in cost of labor, supplies and material which, alone, would more than absorb the increase in revenue. The city government was confronted at the beginning of 1919 with the alternatives of increasing the tax rate or greatly curtailing services. This situation was met frankly by the commission and a rate of 1 per cent established.

Even with the increase in revenue resulting from the greater valuation and enhanced tax rate the city government has accumulated an operating deficit during the last three years amounting to \$83,000. This deficit resulted from the steady rise in prices which made it difficult to estimate the

cost of city services with accuracy, and from war expenditures that could not be anticipated. The commission made no effort to care for this deficit in the budgets of 1918 and 1919, preferring to carry it until financial and price conditions became more stable. It is now planned to dispose of the deficit by spreading it evenly over the three years beginning with the budget of 1920.

The significant thing in regard to the finances of Jackson is the evidence of deliberate and well considered financial planning. Issues have been met frankly and disposed of in a manner which would be a credit to any well managed business. The budget for 1919 called for expenditures totalling \$738,274. An excellent budget system enables the people to understand in detail the way in which city revenues are expended and the sources from which they are derived. One hears no complaint of financial mismanagement. In fact, the decision on issues presented to the electors at the election in November, 1919, was a distinct vote of confidence in the government. Numerous proposals to issue bonds aggregating \$596,000 were submitted to the voters. These were all approved except an issue of \$75,000 the proceeds of which were to have been expended on a park outside the city limits. At the same election an amendment to the city charter was adopted which permits an increase in the general bonded indebtedness from 3 per cent to 5 per cent of the assessed valuation of property within the city.

Jackson prides itself on being a conservative city and we would expect it to be so in matters of debt and taxation. Probably 85 per cent of the families own their own homes and therefore feel the effect of city taxes directly. For this reason the facts just enumerated are all the more signif-

icant of the confidence and satisfaction which the voters feel in the management of the city's financial affairs.

PLANNING FOR FIFTY YEARS AHEAD

A further evidence of planning for the future is found in the thought being given to sewers and water supply. As to both of these it is claimed, apparently with reason, that the city is looking fifty years ahead. In order to get such planning on a scientific basis at the outset, a topographical survey was made of the city and adjacent territory forming the drainage area of which the city is a part. With this data before them, particularly the maps with their contour lines, the manager and his engineers are not only saved the time of getting such information piecemeal but can the more readily fit each extension or improvement into an adequate general plan.

The water system owned by the city has presented some real problems. An examination of water works operation by public accountants for a nine months' period in 1918 showed that proper charges were not being made for depreciation and interest on the investment. Without such charges the water works showed a profit of \$10,097 for the nine months. After making such charges the plant would show a net loss for the nine months of \$15,399. The accountants reported that on a basis of sufficient income to cover depreciation, interest and sinking fund there was a deficit of \$21,080, equivalent to 32.3 per cent of the net income. In view of this report the city manager undertook an examination of the entire water system with a view to eliminating leakage and waste and cutting off unauthorized use. As a result, with no expenditure for new equipment, he was able to reduce

the net loss to \$4,567 for the corresponding nine months' period in 1919. A slight increase in water rates will take care of this deficit. Such an increase can be made without hardship as the minimum rate is \$6 per year with a 10 per cent discount for prompt payment. This rate represents the charge for 75 per cent of all the service rendered.

A few other facts as to physical improvements are worth noting: In the four years of 1915-18 the sewer mileage was increased fifteen miles. In 1917 the largest amount was spent on paving in the history of the city. About seven miles of street paving and twenty-three miles of sidewalks were laid during the period mentioned. Ten miles of water mains were installed in 1916. Very little paving was done during 1919 but nine miles are planned for 1920.

The city government is proceeding to attack the problem of garbage disposal with the same deliberate but determined intelligence which has so far characterized its work. The contract system under which collection and disposal is now being carried on is not proving satisfactory. The manager has made a careful report on methods of garbage disposal feasible for a city of 50,000 population. The city will probably take over this work entirely within a short time.

THE HUMAN SIDE

But is the present government of Jackson only a cold, cautious, slow-moving, business affair? Its record for action in crises and its constant performance along humanitarian lines by no means justifies such a conclusion. For instance, the city was threatened with a coal famine in 1917. The commission promptly bought an abandoned mine near the city, pumped out

the water and began to mine coal. The mine was worked at a profit during city operation. When the coal shortage was over the mine was leased on a royalty basis and the equipment sold. In this manner the city added to the available supply of fuel and showed a commendable capacity for prompt and decisive action.

The city government not only bought government food for distribution but when potatoes were selling at \$2 per bushel in the local market the manager had potatoes shipped in by the carload. This action brought the price of potatoes down to \$1.25 per bushel. The sales were cared for by volunteers from the regular office force and were held at night so that working people could get a chance at them and the men could carry the purchases home.

During 1919 several community dances were held. The closing function of this kind for the year was a Hallowe'en party held on a stretch of new asphalt pavement, the city manager heading the dance. There are no charges of coldness or inaccessibility against the manager in Jackson.

In its care of the public health the city is making remarkable strides. There are three city hospitals. The hospitals for the treatment of tuberculosis and contagious diseases still leave much to be desired. However, Jackson county has voted \$75,000 to be expended for the erection of a contagious disease hospital on the same grounds with the new city general hospital. The latter, housed in a new building erected in 1917, and having a capacity of 110 beds, is remarkably well equipped and managed. But in the matter of the public health the city does not consider its duty performed by merely looking after those who need hospital care. Child hygiene and infant welfare are receiving careful attention. Every birth within the

city is reported to the department of health and is followed by a visit to the home by a public health nurse, regardless of the wealth or standing of the child's family. The city is divided into five districts, each under the supervision of a public health nurse. In 1918 school medical inspection was added to the work of the city health department. At the general hospital one is impressed by the number and apparent efficiency of the various conferences and clinics. A pre-natal clinic has been in operation for three years. Next in order is the infant welfare conference. The opportunity offered for free conferences on infant welfare has proved so popular that the conference has outgrown its original quarters. A continued decrease in the death rate of children under two years of age is believed to be due chiefly to advice and instruction given mothers in these conferences. In addition to the conference and clinic mentioned there are the following clinics: pre-school age; dental (employing a full time dentist); tonsil and adenoid; eye and ear; tuberculosis; venereal disease; general medical. But the most striking thing about all this work is neither its magnitude nor its variety. It is rather the fine determination of the department to increase the intelligence and raise the standards of the people in matters of health. There can be no doubt that the effort is proving successful. The high regard in which the work is held indicates the impression made on the public mind.

SOME CRITICISMS

Is there to-day any criticism of commission-manager government as it exists and has been operated in Jackson? There is, though there is not the slightest doubt but that the voters would sustain the plan by an over-

whelming majority were the question submitted to them. Of course, Jackson has its fair share of those political malcontents who could not possibly be satisfied even though the government were devised by and for themselves. But, aside from criticism by persons of this type who are with us always, there are certain criticisms urged with sufficient frequency and sincerity to demand consideration. These, it will be noted, relate almost entirely to what might be called the political aspects of the government and not to its administration.

First of all, there is a charge that there has been a tendency to aloofness on the part of the mayor and commissioners. In this respect it is probable that the people noticed the change from the old order of mayor and sixteen aldermen to the compact body of five commissioners. Members of the old council could be seen more readily for the simple reason that they were three times as numerous. It is true that most of them were relatively insignificant, but one of them would at least fill the eye of the voter on those occasions when he felt that he must "see" a councilman. The change from the large council to the small commission in Jackson was all the more noticeable by reason of the fact that from the beginning the commission has been composed predominantly of business men. While the business man may be an admirable public servant he is accustomed to making decisions after a minimum of discussion and is not likely to have the faintest notion of the importance of keeping in touch with his constituency. Moreover, the ease and celerity with which the public business may be despatched by a small body and the quietness of its discussions only add to the impression of aloofness.

The commission in Jackson accen-

tuated this feeling among the voters by making another mistake common to "business" men chosen to public deliberative bodies. The commission seemed to feel that public disagreement between its members would be undesirable. Therefore, informal meetings were sometimes held, prior to the regular meetings of the commission, at which questions to be decided were discussed and differences adjusted. As a result the regular meetings of the commission tended to become merely occasions for the transaction of routine business and the ratification of decisions previously reached. In all this there was no wrong intent but the effect was unfavorable. It deprived the meetings of the commission of a large part of their interest and left the public ignorant of the reasons why one course was chosen rather than another which open discussion would have indicated. In this the commission was only revealing a common failing of business men when serving on public bodies. They fail to see that the public is not only entitled to know the decision reached but also the reasoning by which it was arrived at.

In Jackson these causes of complaint appear to be in course of being removed. At the recent election one candidate for mayor declared in his platform that all work of the commission should be done in the open. Both candidates expressed themselves as in favor of closer co-operation between the commission and the citizens. The successful candidate declared that members of the commission should "make themselves available for informal meetings with the people," and that no citizen should "be subjected to the embarrassment of having to address a formal public meeting in which he does not feel at home." He also pledged himself to be at the

city building at definite hours in order to get the benefit of counsel with citizens.

The other complaint most frequently heard is that the commission has not been as representative as it should be. This criticism comes with greatest frequency from voters representing union labor. Although Jackson is predominantly an industrial city and the labor vote is large, there has been no representative on the commission from this important group until since the last election. Apparently few realize that the voting system established by the charter is responsible for this defect. The double election system reduces the candidates at the final election to twice the number of places to be filled. For that reason a group or party is likely to elect all or none of its candidates. At the final election last November, through some default, there were only three candidates for the two places to be filled on the commission. One of these was the official labor candidate. The laboring people, to make sure of his election, voted for him alone and he received the highest vote cast for any of the three candidates. Thus, as a result of an accidental situation, the commission will be more nearly representative of the entire electorate than hitherto and discontent will be allayed for the time being. But no city can afford to leave such an important question as the representative character of its council to accident. This is particularly true of cities under the manager plan. Jackson should give a careful attention to its system of nominating and electing commissioners.

It is significant that such criticism as one hears in Jackson is directed at the commission and not at the manager. There is a healthy recognition of the fact that in the commission lies the real source of power in determining the

policies of the city. The result is a deep interest in the personalities of the various candidates and the policies for which they stand. As a consequence the commission, or council, is becoming the conspicuous body which the manager plan intends it to be. The people seem to feel that a position on the commission not only demands ability but capacity for real leadership.

Of managers Jackson has had three. The first was an obvious misfit and was retained only a short time. The second came to the position with excel-

lent engineering training and with practical experience both in private employment and municipal administration. His work was effective and highly appreciated, though he incurred a measure of the opposition which must inevitably come to the man who puts a new plan into operation. When he was called to be the first manager of Grand Rapids, the commission promoted the city engineer to the managership, which position he still holds. The present manager is quiet, effective and generally popular.

THE CONTRALOR-GENERAL DE MEXICO AGAIN!

SHORTLY after Mr. Lill's favorable description of the office of contralor general of Mexico appeared in the November NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, the *New York Times* of November 9 printed a dispatch from Washington to the effect that a shortage of \$75,000,000 (\$151,000,000 pesos) in the office of the contralor general for the year 1918 had caused a sensation in Mexico. In reply to our inquiry, Mr. Lill states that the contralor general of Mexico handles no funds

whatever and a shortage, therefore, could not exist in his office.

Luis Cabrera, secretary of the treasury, writes under date of December 22: "The *New York Times* has obviously been misinformed, as it is a clear fact that our budget only amounts to 187,000,000 pesos and it could hardly stand a loss of 151,000,000 pesos!"

He explains further that the latter sum is that of a certain ledger account covering items on which the contralor's audit was not yet complete.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Adopted at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting, at Cleveland, Ohio, December 29, 1919

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this Association shall be
THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

ARTICLE II

OBJECTS

1. Its objects shall be:

First: To multiply the number, harmonize the methods, and combine the forces of those who are interested in more effective city, county, state, and national government.

Second: To promote the thorough investigation and discussion of the conditions and methods of the organization and administration of government, and of the methods of selecting and appointing public officials.

Third: To develop a sound public opinion on questions of government by furnishing data for public information and discussion, by the publication of the proceedings of the League's meetings, reports of committees, and other papers, pamphlets, books, and periodicals bearing upon the subject of government.

2. The League shall have no connection with local, state, or national political parties or political party issues as such.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERSHIP

1. The membership of the League shall be composed of individuals interested in the improvement of government.

2. Any person approved by the Council or by its authorized representative may become a member of the League upon payment of the annual dues. Such payment shall include a subscription for one year to any periodical issued by the League. Any membership may be cancelled by a three-fourths vote at any meeting of the League, or by the Board for the non-payment of dues.

3. The Council shall establish three classes of membership:

a. Active members whose dues shall be determined by Council.

b. Sustaining members whose dues shall be \$25 per annum.

c. Honorary life members who shall be exempt from payment of dues. Such member may be elected by the League or the Board, but not more than five such members may be elected during any one year.

ARTICLE IV

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS

1. The government of the League, the direction of its work, and the control of its property shall be vested in a Council consisting of thirty members elected for a term of three years, ten to be elected each year; except that at the first election following the adoption of this constitution, the Council shall provide for the election of ten members for three years, ten for two years, and ten for one year. The President shall be chairman of the Council.

2. The officers of the League shall be a President, five or more Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary,

and such other officers as the League may from time to time establish. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the members of the League. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be appointed annually by the Council.

3. The Secretary shall have charge of the publications, records, and correspondence of the League; shall be Secretary to all committees unless otherwise provided by the Council; shall supervise the work of all employees of the League; and shall perform such other duties incident to the office as shall be required by the Council. His salary shall be fixed annually by the Council.

ARTICLE V

COMMITTEES

1. Immediately upon the election and organization of the Council it shall appoint its chairman and six other members to be an Executive Committee for the current year. The Executive Committee shall select its own chairman. Subject always to the direction of the Council, the Executive Committee shall in the interim between meetings of the Council act for it in all matters relating to the raising and expenditure of necessary funds; the approval of appointments and direction of committees; the appointment of employees; the annual audit of accounts, and the general management and prosecution of the work of the League.

2. The President shall, subject to the approval of the Council or Executive Committee, appoint all committees of the League. No committee shall incur any indebtedness, make any expenditures, or represent the League in advocacy of or opposition to any project or issue, without the specific approval of the Council or Executive Committee, or such confirmation as

may be clearly granted under general powers delegated to that committee by the Council.

ARTICLE VI

ELECTIONS AND REFERENDUMS

1. *Nominations.* At least ninety days before the annual meeting, a nominating committee consisting of nine members, a majority of whom shall not be members of the Council, shall be appointed. At least sixty days before the annual meeting, the committee shall place ten members in nomination for membership on the Council, one member for President, and five or more members for the five or more offices of Vice-Presidents. Such nominations shall be published to the membership of the League at least thirty days before the annual meeting in the League's publication, or by mail. Such publication shall invite additional nominations from the members of the League. Such additional nominations may be made at the annual meeting, at which the election shall take place.

2. *Referendums.* Provisions shall be made by the Council in the by-laws for the submission to the members by mail for approval or disapproval, of recommendations of the Council or any committee of the League on any question of public policy.

ARTICLE VII

SUBSIDIARY ORGANIZATIONS

Members of the League, with the consent and approval of the Council, may form affiliated or subsidiary associations for promoting more effectively a special improvement or reform in which they are interested. Such associations may, subject to the approval of the Council, adopt their own rules and form of government. They may

use the name of the League as a part of their name; but no action or resolution of any such association shall be binding upon or expressive of the sense of the League unless approved by the Council. Any such affiliation with the League may at any time be dissolved by the Council.

ARTICLE VIII

MEETINGS

1. Unless otherwise directed by the Council, the annual meetings of the League shall be held in November of each year. Special meetings of the League may be called at any time by the President, or the Council, or the Executive Committee.

2. A meeting of the Council shall be held in connection with each annual meeting of the League. Other meetings of the Council and Executive Committee, and meetings of all other committees, shall be held when called by their respective chairmen or by the President or Secretary of the League.

3. Reasonable notice shall be given of all meetings.

4. At meetings of the League those present, and at meetings of the Council ten members, and at meetings of committees a majority of the members, shall constitute a quorum. But whenever a quorum is lacking, the action of the majority of those present may be validated by the written approval of a sufficient number of the absentees to make up the deficiency.

5. No resolution expressing any opinion in regard to any governmental or public question shall be voted on

by the League until it has been referred to or considered by and reported from the Council or Executive Committee.

6. In voting each individual member of the League shall have a single vote.

ARTICLE IX

LIABILITIES AND DISBURSEMENTS

No liabilities shall be incurred unless the necessary funds shall have been previously secured or guaranteed. No disbursements of the funds of the League shall be made unless they shall have been approved and ordered by the Council or Executive Committee. All checks shall be signed by the Secretary and countersigned by the Treasurer, unless otherwise provided in the by-laws.

ARTICLE X

BY-LAWS

The Council may adopt such by-laws, not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution, as shall be deemed necessary for the government of the League and the direction and control of its activities.

ARTICLE XI

AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this constitution may be adopted by a majority vote at any meeting of the League provided a notice of the proposed change shall have been published to the members in the League's publication, or by mail, not less than thirty days before such meeting.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

THE MORAL BASIS OF DEMOCRACY. By Arthur Twining Hadley, Ph.D., LL.D. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920. Pp. 206.

This is the second collection of President Hadley's lay sermons to the students of Yale University and the fifth of a series of volumes containing discussions of kindred themes. In this volume there are ten chapters grouped under the heading "Ethics of Citizenship," and eight under the rubric "Ethics of Leadership." All are studies in applied Christianity for the author knows no ethic except the conduct of the Christian man as guided by rules deduced from Bible study. The focal address of the book is that on Conflicting Philosophies.

The collective admonition of the volume is a categorical imperative: Think clearly or not at all, stupidity is the overstrain of limited capacity and a sin. As you think, you will behave; straightforwardly with confidence in your fellow-men and faith in God. This much every man and woman can do, whatever the degree of their mentality and education. American democracy as expressed in American institutions is taken for granted, as is the loyalty of students and graduates to the system which made them. Honor is reverence for your ancestry and their faith.

To the sophisticated doubter and pessimist such an attitude of mind may seem antiquated and childish. To emphasize personality and its responsibility may disgust the muddy speculators who discourse on social conscience and social justice; but the limitations of personality in relation to the community are as compactly set forth in the book as Franklin himself did when considering the value of a general opinion counter to individual conviction. In this connection the talk on "Independent Thinking" is valuable in its discussion of the relation between American democracy and education. The "Foreword" is a model of terse, clear, statement regarding liberty and democracy. Again in "The Price of Greatness" is another excellent study in relativity.

The most conspicuous merit of these talks is,

that underlying all is a consciousness of scientific method. The stupendous advances of natural science, especially physics and chemistry, have been due, during the last twenty years, to rigid exclusion from mathematical calculation of the metaphysical and unessential. Recognizing the boundaries of the five senses in acquiring knowledge, successful investigators have carefully neglected the hyper-this, the super-that and the meta-something else. While the philosophy styled pragmatism has proven itself a broken reed, yet its influence was compulsive of a return to sanity. The discontented have become spiritualists, or new-thoughtists, or devotees to a base and primitive superstition of some form.

President Hadley is an advanced thinker along the lines of past experience. Witness his declaration that ours is essentially an age of faith, and the proofs of the fact which he adduces. But on the other hand he eschews all the philosophies "falsely so called" which transcend the normal psychology of the sane man, who delimits his "job," attacks it cheerfully, and loves work alike for work's sake and the productive quality of the work.

For a reviewer sympathetic with President Hadley in his attitude toward life praise is easy: yet many such will dispute some of his statements; such for instance as that the dangers to democracy are internal, that for example French democracy wrought its own destruction. There is no more conspicuous example in history of the degradation of noble purpose than that afforded by the external pressure of European autocracy and eighteenth century latitudinarianism on the enlightened conservatism of the French revolution. It was the fierce resentment of the land owning peasantry which saved their country from utter socialism and preserved the constructive elements of the revolution for the generations to come.

Space forbids enlarging on several similar interpretations of social movements. To do so would moreover be ungracious because of the sagacity displayed in the overwhelming majority of cases, especially in regard to the menacing

attitude of the ignorant hordes gladly wearing the yoke of radical demagogues in organizations to exploit American government for special ends. It is not widely grasped by older Americans that millions, with the tradition of tyranny, worship tyranny and create it for themselves if they do not find it at hand. Witness the tyranny of labor-unions and the socialistic party over their membership. Collective bargaining means the abject surrender of liberty and private judgment to a minority of voluble agitators, concerned to earn the large salaries they receive from their fellow workmen by pernicious activity.

That a man conspicuous alike as the head of a great American university, and as an authority in the fields of letters and political science should publish to the larger world his reasoned convictions and conclusions on matters vital to society is an invaluable service. No one knows better how the American Republic came into being, what are the pillars which support it, the fundamental principles on which it is founded, their adaptability to changing conditions of society, and their permanence in the hearts and minds of the overwhelming majority of Americans.

W. M. S.

JUSTICE AND THE POOR. By Reginald Heber Smith. New York: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1919. Pp. 249.

"Justice and the Poor" is the title of a bulletin prepared for the Carnegie Foundation by Mr. Reginald Heber Smith of the Boston bar. Although it seems to be generally conceded that Mr. Smith is a trustworthy and competent authority, the appearance of this study has been the signal for a storm of criticism from municipal judges and others. General denials of the validity of the conclusions of the report originated in New York when the justices of the municipal courts and the city magistrates recently entered a formal dissent.

They have vigorously asserted that there is no denial of justice to the poor of New York city and that there is not now, nor ever has been, any judicial recognition of class distinctions. If their statement may be taken to mean that there is no *deliberate* discrimination in courts of law between poor and well-to-do litigants, then their disclaimer must be accepted even though instances of deliberate discrimination are not unknown to our legal annals.

It is to be noted, however, that the New York justices do not mention the administrative defects which constitute the thesis of this report.

What, then, are the specific defects presented? The first consists in the "law's delays" which have long been proverbial. These often operate either to discourage just litigation or to force unfair settlements and compromises, since, in many cases "speed is the essence of justice." The remedy is stated to lie in unification of courts and simplification of procedure.

The second defect consists in court costs and fees which "are too low to deter the rich but high enough to prohibit the poor." This, like the first, presents no inherent difficulty since relief can be effected through statutory provision for proceedings *in forma pauperis*.

Expense of counsel, presented as the third defect in administration, is, however, both fundamental and far-reaching. Mr. Smith estimates that there are thirty-five million persons in the United States who are unable to pay attorney's fees in any appreciable amount. No single expedient will serve to obviate this difficulty. In fact, the remedy lies in establishing, encouraging and developing a considerable number of methods and agencies, some, like the small claims courts, having an official and statutory foundation, whereas others, like the legal aid societies, are strictly voluntary in character. These receive detailed consideration.

The grand conclusion to which we are led is, therefore, that insofar as a denial of justice to the poor exists, it is derived rather from administrative methods and weaknesses than from any fault inherent in the substantive law itself, which is conceded to be, for the most part, sound. Mr. Elihu Root, who has contributed a foreword, recapitulates the whole matter when he says that "the greatly increased complications of life have created conditions under which provisions for obtaining justice which were formerly sufficient, are sufficient no longer."

C. B. Smith.

CHARTOGRAPHY IN TEN LESSONS. By Frank J. Warne. Washington, D. C. Pp. xiv, 159.

This book has been written by a man with expert qualifications for the purpose of giving those who deal with statistics a thorough grounding in the science of making and interpreting charts. The work has been done carefully and clearly, so that the student of the book may

readily understand the fundamentals of cartography before undertaking more involved processes. All of the steps necessary between these extremes are taken logically, and, wherever helpful, diagrams are used to supplement the

text. The book is of primary importance, of course, to those who may have to construct charts; but in addition it has a very real value also to those who wish to acquire facility in their understanding.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

A LIVING WAGE. Its Ethical and Economic Aspects. By John A. Ryan, D.D., LL.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 182. \$2.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP AND ECONOMIC WELFARE. By Jacob H. Hollander. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University. Pp. 122.

CHARTOGRAPHY IN TEN LESSONS. By Frank J. Warne. Published by Frank J. Warne, Southern Building, Washington, D. C. Pp. 159.

FIRE COLLEGE EXTENSION COURSE and FIRE DEPARTMENT PROMOTION EXAMINATION INSTRUCTION. New York: Civil Service Chronicle, Inc. Pp. 247.

FREE TRADE, THE TARIFF and RECIPROCITY. By F. W. Taussig, Ph.D., Litt.D. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920. Pp. 219.

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN WAR-TIME and AFTER. By William Franklin Willoughby. New York: D. Appleton and Company. Pp. 370. \$2.50.

HOUSING and THE HOUSING PROBLEM. By Carol Aronovici. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Pp. 163. 75 cents.

NEW IDEALS IN THE PLANNING OF CITIES, TOWNS and VILLAGES. By John Nolen. New York: The American City Bureau. Pp. 139.

OUR AMERICA. By Waldo Frank. New York: Boni and Liveright. Pp. 232. \$1.75.

OUT OF THE RUINS. By George B. Ford. New York: The Century Company. Pp. 275.

PAPERS and PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION HELD AT ASBURY PARK, N. J., JUNE 23-27, 1919. Bulletin of the American Library Association, Chicago, Ill. Pp. 430.

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III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

The Proposed New York-New Jersey Treaty.—Riparian controversies between New York and New Jersey were adjusted by a treaty in 1834, which recognized the exclusive jurisdiction (derived from colonial grants) of the state of New York over the waters of New York bay and of the Hudson river to low water mark on the Jersey shore, with the exceptions, in substance, that the property rights of the respective states in the land under water go to the middle of the bay and river and that the jurisdiction of New Jersey over its own shores, riparian improvements and vessels moored thereto is exclusive. This treaty received the approval of congress and has been frequently construed by the courts. Second in importance only to the building of the Erie canal is this instrument in the development of the port of New York.

From the national standpoint our port is a unit, whatever may still be said of sovereignty, jurisdiction or titles. It is upon this physical fact and the legal circumstances of the treaty, that the New York-New Jersey Port and Harbor Development Commission have acted in their constructive proposal now so to amend the pact as to enable the port to be administered as a unit in the interest of commerce and navigation, and Mr. Julius Henry Cohen, the counsel to the commission, has made a thorough report on the legal position, which is at once a brief and an opinion, a study and a thesis, of more than usual interest.

He sketches the controversies that led to the making of the treaty of 1834, then discusses its juridical evolution and its application to the questions of apparent conflict that have arisen

between the two sovereignties and between the peoples of the two states, and next takes up the question of the powers of congress over these interstate waterways and the reserved powers of the states with respect to navigable waters, reaching the definite conclusion that side by side with the federal power to regulate interstate commerce and navigable waters (p. 73),

"Broad powers of regulation in the interest of improving the navigability of those waterways which constitute the great public highways of the port of New York still remain with the two states as part of the police power. In the establishment of such regulations there is no interference either with contract or property rights."

His next point is that a state may act through the medium of a corporation, and in support of this he adduces well tested authority, and as a corollary that there may be interstate action through interstate corporations, or rather corporations created under the laws of more than one state, cites the familiar instances of the International Bridge Co. operating across the Niagara river, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Co. of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania and the Palisades Interstate Park Commission.

Thus he arrives at his final conclusion that it is within the power of the states of New York and New Jersey to agree to create a joint port authority to control,—subject to the property rights of the states and their municipalities and the federal jurisdiction over commerce,—the port of New York, which now spreads over not merely the five boroughs of the greater city and the cities of Jersey City, Hoboken and Newark, but the entire Metropolitan district embracing over 50 cities, boroughs, villages, and townships, 771 miles of water front and 1,300 square miles of territory. This result can be accomplished through the treaty-making power of the states concerned, after approval by congress under the constitutional provision, article I, section 10-12, that:

"No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such immediate danger as will not admit of delay."

The possession and exercise of power to bring about a unified management of ports that spread beyond the confines of a single state, necessarily carries with it the incidents of such power re-

quisite to make its exercise effective. Thus a port authority can be created that will have the right to take, hold, deal in and regulate the use of riparian property, and, within the limitations of the act of its creation, to borrow money in order to carry on its operations. In other words, it lies within the power of the states, when approved by congress, to bring into being a new debt-creating body,—one, however, that will not borrow on the credit of its promoters, but can readily be financed on the basis of its own income-earning potentialities, so that the march of much-needed improvements, the proper development of the port of New York, shall not lag behind the world's demands,—a difficulty that is now experienced because of charter restrictions against municipal borrowing powers and constitutional limitations of the state.

The unified port operated by an authority, administrative rather than political, is no new development. Such are the ports of London, Liverpool, Antwerp, Hamburg, all of which stand out as well-regulated ports substantially free from political interference, progressive, ready to meet the demands of commerce as they grow from day to day. In the management of these ports the great maritime and commercial interests participate. They constitute great public service corporations for the benefit of the trade and industry of their respective countries. Their growth and efficiency have been made possible through the wisdom that underlies the organic act of their creation.

Lest the imagination of the man in the street, who is used to doing his political thinking in hard and unyielding molds, according to pristine and adamant formulae, should be staggered by the idea of quasi-sovereign authority existing independently of the states of origin and apparently overlapping fringes of these, Mr. Cohen calls attention to the following, among other well-known instances of successful international authority,—the Permanent Mixed Fisheries Commission for the regulation of the North Atlantic fisheries, the Panama canal zone, the Suez convention, the Egyptian Public Debt Commission, the International Navigation Commission of the Congo, the International Boundary Commission (Mexico-U. S. A.), the Riverain Commission for the regulation of certain North European navigable international waters and the remarkable commission for the control of the river Danube. The latter well illustrates what wonderful results may be ac-

complied by an effective international body, rising through wise administration and the necessities of the case superior to the conflicting sovereignties of Turkey, Bulgaria, Servia, Austria-Hungary and Roumania, making the Danube an effective waterway almost from its source in the Black Forest of Baden to its mouth at Sulina on the Black Sea, clearing it of obstructions, policing it, doing away not only with piracy, but with discriminatory tolls (the more subtle form of hold-up), erecting lighthouses and channel marks, clearing the mouths of the river and establishing there ports for the grain trade of the east. This commission, with the support of England, was enabled to borrow money in the name of the Turkish Empire by virtue of the treaty of Vienna of 1815, but really upon its own credit as the result of the enlargement of its functions because of the treaty of Paris of 1853. It has its own flag and a "navy" that carries its legislative, executive and judicial acts into effect. We should like to call to the attention of the New York-New Jersey Port Commission an excellent résumé of the work of the Danubian Commission by Edward Krehbiel of the University of California, that appeared in the *Political Science Quarterly* in 1918.

The Danubian Commission illustrates the possibilities that inhere in a properly organized, sufficiently endowed, interstate authority for the port of New York. It should be representative not merely of the interests of New York, Jersey City and Newark, but of the governments of the states of New York and New Jersey; it should not be fettered by local jealousies, but have power both to regulate the waters of the port, and to arrange for the proper co-ordination and integration with them of the great inland waterways, such as the Erie canal, the Champlain canal and the canal to be built to the Delaware river; and it should in addition have power to bring into harmonious operation with the port, through connecting lines and classification yards, all the railways that center here, and to establish an adequate warehousing system contiguous to the docks that will leave the latter free to perform their riparian functions to the exclusion of storage business.

To-day, through separated management, the various parts of the port are a prey to local jealousies, not merely state or city, but of boroughs and even smaller units. The short-sighted, if not selfish, interests of real estate speculators, for instance, stand in the way of

comprehensive improvements which would be an advantage to the city of New York as a whole, and so there is piecemeal improvement here and there to placate this, that or the other organized demand. There is no escape from this but national control or interstate management. Either one of these would remove the port from politics and from the conflict of interests that cannot see the bigger field because of the proximate nature of their own immediate local districts.

The big work for the New York-New Jersey Commission is to so enlighten the public that when the physical plan is presented, it will be considered upon its merits, adapted to the needs of commerce and of the communities to be served, and not be bowled out of court by the specious clamors of the market-place with *ad captandum* slogans of state rights and local control.

BENJAMIN TUSKA.¹



Transit Problems of New York City is a report dated November, 1919, prepared by Dr. Wilcox, and signed by 34 other men prominent in the municipal affairs of the city of New York. Its purpose was to bring up for public discussion the traction problem which was reaching a crisis in the life of the city, and it was given wide publicity in the daily press.

The sub-title of the pamphlet describes its scope: "An analysis of the difficulties in the way of the continuation of the policy of private ownership and operation, and of the obstacles to be removed in preparation for successful public ownership and operation."

In the introduction, Dr. Wilcox discusses the importance of street railway service and emphasizes that in a huge city like New York, transportation must not be interrupted, whatever the circumstances.

While up to the present, operation has been conducted altogether by private companies, it now faces great difficulties, following the increases in wages and the cost of materials and supplies. Sixteen points of difficulty are presented, each sufficiently serious by itself. Perhaps the chief point is the five-cent fare, which is not only firmly fixed in the psychology of the riding public, but has been deeply lodged both in the legislative policy of the state and in the municipal purposes of the city of New York.

¹Chairman of the Port Committee of the City Club of New York.

Another fundamental difficulty is the competitive character of the existing street railway operating systems. The same rate of fare must practically be maintained on all the lines operating in the city. But this means that a uniform increase in fare would certainly give too much relief to some companies and not enough to others; while a varied increase would result in shifting traffic between the competing companies so as to defeat the desired benefits from being realized. Relief through the adoption of a uniform flexible fare requires complete unification of street railway facilities within the city, and such unification does not obtain in New York and can hardly be established under private operation.

Dr. Wilcox seems to believe firmly that municipal ownership and operation of street railways is the solution of the New York traction problem. He clearly realizes, however, that this solution itself would involve and create difficulties of its own. He sets forth twelve points,—some legal, others financial, and the rest political. The chief legal difficulty is perhaps the debt limit of the city which would make the financing of the municipal purchase all but impossible. The danger of political control is perhaps the most frequent and most important argument presented against municipal ownership and operation. The author admits the danger and hardly shows the way to avoid it, but apparently relies upon the necessity of keeping politics out of control if municipal ownership and operation are undertaken.

JOHN BAUER.



A Responsible Form of Government.—This pamphlet, issued by Governor Samuel R. McKelvie of Nebraska, is a discussion of the civil administrative code enacted by the legislature in 1919.¹ Some of the features of the code to which Governor McKelvie calls attention, and on which information additional to that contained in our December issue may be desired, are the salary-standardization plan and the functions of the finance department, the work-program, cost-data budget, centralized accounting, and the central purchasing department.

In the department of finance is established a centralized uniform system of accounting and bookkeeping for all the other departments.

¹ NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. viii, p. 651.

This relieves the other departments, eliminates a good many employes, and establishes uniformity in charges for service for the same class of work. Every expenditure, before contracted for, must have the approval of the department of finance. In this way the department has complete control as to the wisdom, need, and price correctness of all expenditures, while the auditor—a separate constitutional officer in Nebraska—has the final approval as to the legality of the expenditures. All expenditures are distributed according to nine standard expenditure accounts and subdivisions of the same. It is possible to compare the different classes of expenditures in the different departments and to see that each department is getting the greatest value and service out of every dollar expended.

Through the centralized accounting and bookkeeping activity, the same officials who prepare the budget have had an eye on the expenditures day by day, and so have secured the necessary information for an intelligent study of the estimates that the departments submit before they are included in the budget.

The civil administrative code establishes a double basis for the control of expenditures: first, the appropriations made by the legislature; and, second, the departmental estimate of the money which the department wishes to spend during each three months' period of the biennium. This periodic estimate is the basis of the appropriation ledger. The total amount appropriated by the legislature, and the total fees collected which are credited to the department, are the basis of the general ledger. Each three months' estimate is taken from the general ledger to the appropriation ledger. In this way, the department of finance has authority and the power to control expenditures. A department cannot expend any money until it has made its three months' estimate, which must be approved by the department of finance. The expenditures and encumbrances of a department for the three months' period cannot exceed the estimate except through a transfer, approved by the department of finance. The combined estimates for the three months' periods cannot exceed the total appropriation for the biennium.

There is also established in the department of finance a central purchasing department, through which all purchases are made and on which all requisitions are issued for any class of

service or contracts which will later ripen into an expenditure. Every purchase order and every contract for service, or other contract which will later ripen into an expenditure, must be made upon a requisition to the department of finance, and the final contract cannot be entered into until the requisition is certified by the accountant in the department of finance as to availability of funds.

As this law was passed by the last legislature, no budget has yet been submitted, but the department of finance will prepare for the next legislature a work-program, cost-data budget, rather than a segregated budget. The estimates and appropriations will be for stated purposes of expenditure rather than items of expenditure. It will be a business program for which the executive will stand responsible to the legislature and to the people of the state. It will provide an estimate of resources as well as expenditures, and in this it will embody the essential feature of any budgetary system—the balancing of revenues and expenditures.

This budget will contain estimates for appropriations for departments, bureaus and divisions within departments, and will be supported by schedules showing the need of the total amount as distributed according to nine standard accounts. The supporting schedules will give complete and full details to show how the total for the unit is established, but the supporting schedule will not be included in the appropriation bill. Through this combination of appropriations in summarized form, with supporting schedules furnishing detail under main functions, the legislature and the public will be furnished the same detailed report of expenditures and estimates for appropriation as is contained in a segregated budget, without limiting administrative action.

The salary-standardization plan provides for a standard title of employment and uniform salaries for the same class of work in all of the departments under the code, entrance at a minimum salary and advancement to a higher salary rate at certain specified periods, and promotion to a higher grade of service. Under this system, in the report of expenditures and in the supporting schedules of the budget, a standard title of employment will always mean the same salary expenditure or estimate.



Electric Franchises in New York City is an intensive study of the electric franchises

granted and used in operation in the city of New York. In chapter one, the author, Leonora Arent, describes the electric lighting companies, giving a brief history of each company. Next she discusses the franchises claimed by the operating companies, presenting several tables as to location, area and population covered by the franchises. In this discussion she follows largely a report signed by Milo R. Maltbie in behalf of the Public Service Commission of the state of New York, second district, on "Franchises of Electrical Corporations." A chapter is devoted to the electric lighting franchises in relation to the general manufacturing corporations act. The concluding chapter discusses the problems of acquiescence and perpetuity, showing how the doctrine has become pretty firmly established that a franchise granted without an express time limitation is viewed as a permanent grant. This monograph shows a diligent research of public records and serves a useful purpose in bringing the facts together. It makes little or no attempt to discuss the larger questions of rates and service, or public ownership and operation, or the more general problems of municipal policy in relation to the regulation, ownership and operation of public utilities.

JOHN BAUER.



Tax Rates and Taxable Values in Texas Cities is the title of a summary of the answers received to a questionnaire on the subject sent to Texas cities on November 27, 1919, with which is included a statement of the constitutional provisions regarding local taxation and a draft of the proposed constitutional amendments relating to local taxation to be voted on by the people next November. The data for each city comprise the assessed valuation of real and personal property, the percentage of actual value assessed on, the estimated percentage of delinquent taxes, the tax rate, and the distribution into funds for schools, streets, parks, sinking fund, general fund, etc. The report is compiled by the bureau of government research, of the university of Texas. The usefulness of this data might have been increased by arranging it in comparative tables and including some analytical study.



Knowing Who the Public's Servants Are.—The Detroit bureau of governmental research has performed a distinct service to the citizens of Detroit by publishing in an issue of

Public Business, the bureau's bi-weekly bulletin, a condensed directory of city and county officials. The average voter soon forgets the identity, or even the existence, of the many minor officials whom he has helped to elect, and often never is conscious of the multitudinous commissions and satraps that assist in conducting the public business. Such a directory as has been provided for Detroit is a wholesome reminder, and gains value for reference purposes because it includes the address and telephone number of each official, board, and commission.

✱

High Schools Study City-Manager Plan.—The university of Montana has published a bulletin containing data relative to the Montana high school debating league. The question listed for the league's district contests is the adoption of the city-manager plan by Montana cities and towns, and a good bibliog-

raphy on this subject is printed in the bulletin. Other questions proposed for league debates include the executive budget, short ballot, proportional representation, and recall.

✱

"Facts about Your Municipal Government" is the boldly printed label on the envelope containing the very excellent annual report of the village of Winnetka, Illinois, for the year ending March 31, 1919. The idea might well be followed by others, as the phrase will doubtless arrest attention in many cases.

✱

"Bureau Topics," No. 1, January, 1920, makes its appearance as the organ of the governmental research conference. This issue is devoted to a symposium on bureau publicity containing matter of importance to every officer, member, and supporter of research bureaus, civic leagues, and similar organizations.

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¹ Edited by Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr.

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NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Need of Municipal Meat Inspection.—Health considerations alone have failed to rouse American cities to the importance of clean meat from sound animals and to the importance of having local meat establishments inspected, according to Dr. John R. Mohler, chief of the bureau of animal industry of the United States department of agriculture, in an address to the American public health association. Municipal inspection is needed, as the facts show, and as all who are familiar with average slaughter house conditions will quickly admit.

The slaughter houses in which about one third of the meat of the United States is prepared, Dr. Mohler explained, are not federally inspected, because they sell their entire output within the state where the slaughter house is located and the federal government has no authority under the constitution to regulate them in any way. All the meat shipped across state lines or exported is inspected by the government.

If the entire meat food supply of the country is to be properly inspected, Dr. Mohler contends, it will devolve upon the several states or municipalities to cover the field to which federal inspection can not be extended. Some cities do maintain such inspection. The need for state and municipal meat inspection laws is shown by the number of unsound animals that are condemned by the federal inspectors every year—221,245 animals on the post-mortem inspection alone last year. On the basis of the number of animals slaughtered in federal inspected and in non-inspected slaughter houses, that would mean that 106,122 unfit animals were used as human food from uninspected slaughter houses last year, but the actual number probably greatly exceeded that figure, as the tendency would naturally be to send diseased animals to slaughter houses where there is known to be no inspection, instead of to federally inspected plants.

As the result of a survey recently made to determine what proportion of cities maintain meat inspection and what the quality of the inspection is, out of over 1,400 cities included in the survey, only 195 were shown to have meat inspection of any kind. In most of these no effort is made to maintain the government

standard. One of the purposes of the survey was to ascertain how many cities have a public abattoir, which, according to Mr. Roberts, also of the bureau of animal industry, affords the most practical way in which a community can properly protect its citizens against diseased and unwholesome meat, because only at such central places can a thoroughly efficient system of meat inspection be economically carried out. After sifting the reports, it appeared that only 27 cities have municipal or central abattoirs. Sixteen of the 27 are southern cities—Albany, Ga.; Macon, Ga.; Baton Rouge, La.; Winston-Salem, N. C.; Laurens, S. C.; Beaumont, Texas; Taylor, Texas; Paris, Texas; Winchester, Va.; Anniston, Ala.; Atlanta, Ga.; La Grange, Ga.; Columbus, Ga.; Savannah, Ga.; Norfolk, Va.; and Roanoke, Va. Eight are in the northern portion of the country west of the Mississippi—Joplin, Mo.; Devils Lake, N. D.; Grand Forks, N. D.; St. Cloud, Minn.; Yakima, Wash.; Moorfield, Minn.; St. Paul, Minn.; and Lincoln, Neb. Two are in New England—Bridgeport, Conn., and Pittsfield, Mass. The remaining one is Detroit, Mich.

The number of inspectors devoting their whole time to municipal meat inspection is 226, while 182 others are engaged part time. The leading states where inspectors devote their whole time to the work are California, Ohio, Louisiana, Kentucky, New York, and Texas. Salaries average highest in Washington, Oregon, and Louisiana and lowest in Massachusetts and Indiana.

A few only of the cities have a really adequate inspection of meat. Those ranking highest in point of expenditures and number of inspectors engaged are San Francisco, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Oakland, Columbus, Louisville, New Orleans, Denver, and Philadelphia.

How Some Cities Tackle Food Problems.—That municipalities are tackling their local food problems in a variety of ways, some of them unusual, is evidenced by reports received by the city marketing division of the bureau of markets, United States department of agriculture.

From establishing curb markets, remodeling

or building retail market houses, efforts of cities have expanded until some are actually selling food supplies, while one city of about 65,000 population is operating a farm and selling produce from it at retail.

Houston, Texas, which has a municipally owned retail market house, has taken over three stalls in the building and is handling fruits and vegetables in competition with its tenants. In order to be fair to other retailers it charges itself with all overhead expenses paid by other dealers, including rent, and also pays wages higher than those paid in other stalls. Reports on ten weeks' operation of the city-managed stalls show that it is possible to buy and sell produce in competition with local merchants at both a direct and indirect saving to consumers. The experiment is to be enlarged to include food products other than fruits and vegetables and is said to be already serving as a stabilizing influence on prices in that city market. Competing merchants have become interested in the methods of doing business of the city-operated stalls and appear anxious to try out practices that would enable them to lower their prices.

Allentown, Pennsylvania, has gone into farming on a farm acquired for other purposes which, through changes in municipal plans, was lying idle. Under the direction of one of the city aldermen this farm is producing vegetables and selling them at retail in competition with shipped-in produce. The farm also feeds 1,000 head of hogs on city garbage. Local advocates of the plan now propose to include the use of an old brewery as a storage warehouse for potatoes and other products grown by local farmers, so as to lessen the city's dependence on shipped-in products.

Although the bureau of markets, through its city marketing division, is keeping in touch with developments in many cities and is compiling information for use in answering inquiries, it states that it would be glad to hear from any cities, not as yet reached by formal inquiries, which are working on local food problems through municipally owned shops and by other methods differing from those that have been followed in the past. The bureau plans to make available information in regard to the successes and failures of cities in their efforts to solve their food problems in order that municipalities contemplating special action may have the benefit of the experience of communities faced with similar conditions.

Public Ownership Conference Discusses Street Railway Operation.—At the recent public ownership conference held in Chicago, Dr. Delos F. Wilcox of New York, ex-governor Eugene N. Foss of Massachusetts, ex-governor Edward F. Dunne of Chicago, and others, presented the subject with reference to street railways, describing the situation in various cities which go to create a crisis in municipal traction, which Dr. Wilcox characterized in these words: "The street railway business as a general rule throughout American cities is on the rocks. A large majority of the companies are overcapitalized, and with wages increasing and prices of material abnormally high, street railway companies are finding great difficulty in remaining solvent. Almost everywhere fares have been increased in an effort to keep revenues above expenditures but increase in fares invariably reduces traffic and cuts down revenues.

"In this situation the times point inevitably not only to the desirability but to the necessity of public operation. So long as street railways are privately owned there must be an irreconcilable conflict between the interests of the public and the interests of the company. Street railway transportation is a public function and it should be taken over by the government in the interests of the public.

"The crying need now is the preparation of concrete plans that will make municipal ownership possible. It is not enough to vote in favor of the principle of municipal ownership. We need a definite policy, not a set of abstract principles.

"The great stumbling block, of course, in the way of putting municipal ownership into operation has been the question how to pay for the street railways. Probably the best solution of this question is that provided in the state of Washington, where cities are allowed to pledge the gross earnings of the utility in the payment of bonds issued for their purchase. By this method the city of Seattle was able to buy a street railway system by issuing bonds against the property itself and outside of the limitation on indebtedness imposed by the state law."



Seattle (Washington) Regulates Hotel and Apartment Rates.—Declaring that the rates, rentals, and charges levied or collected by landlords, keepers, proprietors, and managers of hotels, inns, apartment houses, flats, tenements,

rooming houses, lodging houses, and other places of limited habitation, have given rise to intolerable conditions highly detrimental to the public peace, health, welfare and economy, and demand the exercise of the police power of the state and city, an ordinance of the city council of Seattle, Washington, provides a method for the regulation of such rates, rentals, and charges. In addition to requiring that all hotels, apartment houses, etc., shall be licensed, and that all tariffs shall be filed and posted, the ordinance creates a complaint committee, consisting of the city license inspector, the city engineer, the superintendent of buildings, the commissioner of health, and the superintendent of public utilities, to investigate all complaints against tariffs by tenants or guests, and to report to the city council. In the case of any tariff reported as unreasonable the city council is to fix a reasonable rental, rate, or charge which the proprietor of the hotel or apartment house involved is required to observe. Such action of the city council is subject to review by the police judge and the superior court. Maximum penalties of \$100 and 30 days' imprisonment are provided for violations of the ordinance.



Council-Manager Plan for Memphis Endorsed.—Writing of the council-manager plan proposed for Memphis, Tennessee, Mayo Fesler, of the Brooklyn chamber of commerce, says: "In my opinion, it is one of the best pieces of charter drafting that I have seen. It is sound,

not only in phraseology but also in the plan of government as proposed.

"Fixing the number of councilmen at twelve for a city the size of Memphis, is, to my mind, about right.

"While I should have preferred to see the proportionate representation plan of elections included, I realize that this system of election is not yet sufficiently popular for us to expect its adoption.

"The recall provisions are entirely adequate. The initiative-referendum provisions are in the best form.

"I have some doubt as to the advisability of giving the council quite so much power in defining the functions of departments and abolishing departments established by ordinance, or transferring the duties of departments. I fully agree that it is sound in principle; but in practice it has not worked altogether well in the city of Cleveland.

"The civil service provisions are thoroughly good.

"The city planning provisions, I believe, could be improved upon; but there is possibly something in the local conditions which makes these provisions necessary. I should like to see the planning board have the power of veto on public improvements rather than merely the power of making recommendations.

"On the whole, however, it seems to me a thoroughly good piece of work, and, if Memphis can secure this charter from its legislature, the city and its citizens are to be congratulated."

II. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Franchises.—A franchise was granted to the Hardin-Wyandot Lighting Co. by the village of Upper Sandusky in 1889. At that time the statute provided that the mode in which the streets could be used for lighting and power appliances must be agreed upon between the parties or, that failing, by the probate court. In 1896 the law was amended, giving the municipality exclusive control over the erection of any such appliances in the streets. The supreme court of the United States in this case¹ sustained the Ohio supreme court in holding that the change in the law impaired no federal constitutional rights of the company, especially since the effect of the statute was not extended to poles and wires in use at the time but was limited to

the restoration of those that had been removed and to new additional construction.



Street Sprinkling.—An ordinance of the city of Sacramento, requiring the street railway during the months of June, July, August, September and October of each year to sprinkle its tracks and for a distance beyond sufficient to lay the dust, was held not violative of the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment as an abuse of the power of the state delegated to the city in the case of *Pacific Gas & Electric Co. v. Police Court of Sacramento*.² It was also held not violative of the equal protection clause as resting on an improper basis for classification between

¹ 40 Sup. Ct. Rep. 104.

² 40 Sup. Ct. Rep. 79.

street cars moving on tracks and other vehicles in the streets.

✱

Impairment of a Contract.—The supreme court of the United States in the case of *Hays v. Port of Seattle*,¹ decided that a state law vacating part of a water-way and conferring title on a municipality did not deprive the complainant, who had a contract with the state to excavate it, of property without due process of law, since if he had any property rights which were taken, the taking was for a public purpose and the state law provided adequate remedy for this. The requirement of due process was, therefore, satisfied by the ascertainment of compensation after the property was taken.

✱

Bond Issue to Purchase Street Railway.—This was a taxpayer's suit to prevent the city of Seattle from issuing bonds to purchase the street railway system. The supreme court of Washington in the case of *Twichell v. City of Seattle*² held that this transaction did not create any indebtedness because the interest and operating expenses were to be paid from gross revenues and consequently the city council had a right to act without the sanction of the voters. Two judges dissented saying that in their opinion the ordinance of the council was drawn with the intent to charge the general fund or at least leave the way open to levy a direct tax, thus violating the letter and spirit of the law.

✱

One-Man Car.—The supreme court of the United States in the case of *Sullivan v. City of Shreveport*³ recently affirmed the judgment of the supreme court of Louisiana, holding that an ordinance requiring every street car to be operated by a conductor and a motorman subject to a penalty for violation is presumed to be a lawful exercise of police powers for public safety. The court further held that, notwithstanding a contested claim of safety for the one-man car, the ordinance cannot be held unconstitutional in the absence of the showing of a clear case of arbitrary conduct on the part of the local authorities.

✱

Municipal Ice Plant.—This was a mandamus suit to compel the city comptroller of Kansas City, Missouri, to sell bonds authorized at an election for the erection of a municipal ice plant.

¹ 40 Sup. Ct. Rep. 125.

² 179 Pac. 127.

³ 40 Sup. Ct. Rep. 102.

The supreme court of Missouri in the case of *State v. Orear*⁴ said "we are of the opinion that the business of making and selling ice by Kansas City to the inhabitants of that city is not so far a public purpose as to warrant the expenditure therein of public money obtained as the proceeds of municipal bonds, the payment of which with the interest thereon would be met by the levy and collection of public taxes." They held further that the city had to have specific charter authority to take this step. There was a strong dissenting opinion based on the fact that ice is important to the public health, and that, therefore, under the police power the city could go into the manufacture of ice to protect the food supply and the public health generally.

✱

Home Rule.—The city of Kalamazoo attempted to set the price of gas for a utility whose franchise had expired. The supreme court of Michigan in the case of *Kalamazoo v. Titus*⁵ held that the ordinance was void, the city having been delegated no power to regulate gas rates. The court stated also that the power to regulate rates is not a power necessary to local self-government, denial of which or interference with the exercise of which by the legislature would be an interference with home rule.

✱

Appointment of Board of Health.—This case arose over the question whether the mayor or the city manager had the power to appoint the board of health. The supreme court of Arkansas in the case of *McClendon v. Board of Health of Hot Springs*⁶ held that the city manager was an officer rather than an employee and that he had the power to appoint the board of health, the provision of the old law giving the mayor that power having been repealed. It is interesting to note that the court held that the section of the law providing that the city manager need not be a resident of the city was unconstitutional because the manager would not have the qualifications of an elector as required by the constitution.

✱

New York Board of Education.—The New York court of appeals has reversed the decision of the appellate division in the case of *Hirshfield v. Cook*⁷ reported in the January issue of the

⁴ 210 S. W. 392.

⁵ 175 N. W. 480.

⁶ 216 S. W. 289.

⁷ 125 N. E. 504.

REVIEW. Consequently the commissioner of accounts of the city of New York now has the right to examine as a witness the auditor of the board of education in order to ascertain the financial condition of the city and the needs of the public schools, even though public education is a state and not a municipal function. Very happily the court of appeals has rectified this unwarranted interference with local self-government which the decision of the appellate division made possible.

ROBERT E. TRACY.

✱

Apartment Houses Barred from Residence Districts in Minnesota.—By a decision of the supreme court of Minnesota, apartment houses may be barred from residential districts created by cities of the first class in that state, under the power of eminent domain. This is a marked advance. The case is that of *The Twin Cities Building and Investment Company vs. City Building Inspector James G. Houghton*. The act authorizing cities to create residential districts which exclude apartment houses provides that any one whose property is injured by such a restriction may secure damages from the city creating it. Under the law the damages are paid by the property owners in the restricted district, who are benefited by the restriction. The very wording of the law is a direct recognition of the fact that a disbarring of apartment houses from residential districts is of benefit to the district, and under these circumstances the damages payable should not be heavy.

The court's opinion is even more notable in

its frank recognition that æsthetics are entitled to the protection of the law. The opinion, written by Justice Andrew Holt, says:

"It is time that courts recognized the esthetic as a factor in life. Beauty and fitness enhance values in public and private structures. But it is not sufficient that the building is fit and proper, standing alone; it should also fit in with surrounding structures to some degree. People are beginning to realize this more than before, and are calling for city planning by which the individual homes may be segregated from not only industrial and mercantile districts, but also from the districts devoted to hotels and apartments. The act in question responds to this call and should be deemed to provide for a taking for a public purpose."

The winning of the case is the more notable because the supreme court itself was of the contrary opinion and handed down a decision three months ago holding the act of the legislature in question unconstitutional. A petition for rehearing was granted, and now on the mature consideration the court reverses itself and gives the city of Minneapolis a victory after a five years' fight.

The importance of the majority opinion is emphasized by the bitterness of the dissenting opinion. The sharpness of the contrasts between the majority and minority opinions brings into prominence the value of the majority opinion. Many reasons for the decision are offered in the majority opinion, one of which is that owners of land in congested cities have suffered losses through the selfish and unworthy motives of other landowners in the neighborhood, and that the absence of restrictions against diminishing values gives occasion for extortion.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

National Association of Civic Secretaries.—Registration and records show that the tenth annual meeting of the national association of civic secretaries, held at Cleveland, December 29-31, 1919, was the largest and most fruitful in attendance and value of all gatherings previously held. Dr. A. R. Hatton, president, Addison L. Winship of Boston, honorary president, Miss H. Marie Dermitt, of Pittsburgh, treasurer, and W. Frank Gentry, Kansas City, secretary, led in arranging activities of interest to all delegates. Nearly sixty civic organizations, city clubs, voters' leagues, etc., are now represented in the roster of membership.

During the three days there were luncheon

and dinner meetings interspersed among program sessions, in which efficiency methods were treated from many angles of experience. In these meetings additional interest was given to the discussions by the participation of numbers of delegates attending the sessions of the National Municipal League and the governmental research conference. The two-day mock constitutional convention of the National Municipal League also was of value to the civic secretaries. Fully a score of new members, from as many cities, on being introduced, gave accounts of the work being done by their organizations, and hinted at the problems they were facing.

How to define the objectives of the civic

organizations, maintain membership interest, conduct public forum meetings, solve financial problems, cultivate civic interest generally, particularly through the membership, how to manage a café without incurring a deficit, and whether the civic organization should be social or militant, either or both—these were some of the topics of debate to which the time of the meetings was devoted. Various sides were presented, when the question was: "Shall the policy be determined wholly by the officers, such as the executive board, or shall a more democratic method be devised?" Many sides of the question of publicity also were brought into the discussions.

Arrangements were suggested, and later adopted by the new officers, for securing an efficient exchange of bulletins and other printed matter; for getting circulation, among members, of information regarding available speakers for forums, lecture courses, etc.; and for gathering and exchanging data regarding membership and initiation fees and dues. Special attention was given to the interests of women's city clubs, which were represented by several delegates.

New officers were elected as follows: President, William P. Lovett, citizens league, Detroit; secretary, F. T. Hayes, city club, Cleveland; treasurer, Miss H. Marie Dermitt, civic club, Pittsburgh. The officers held a conference, following the general meeting, and outlined a definite schedule of activities for the year.

W. P. LOVETT.

Tentative Proposals Affecting the City of Chicago, to be presented to the constitutional convention, are contained in the preliminary report of the special council committee on constitutional proposals. The report sketches the development of home rule for Chicago and presents the advantages of having this progress extended and made permanent by constitutional enactment. The report then proposes a draft of a constitutional article covering the city of Chicago, in which are set forth in considerable detail the powers which the city shall have for its own government.

A School Exhibit on American Citizenship.—At the request and with the co-operation of the New York principals' association, a series of 25 lithographed exhibit posters for teaching citizenship and Americanization to school children has been prepared by the national child welfare association. The exhibit emphasizes, by text

and picture, the fact that children of school age are not merely prospective but actual citizens, that they now have civic duties to perform and soon will have others for which they should prepare. Divided under five subdivisions covering cleanliness, thrift, the value of human life, knowledge of the community, and service to the community, each of the 25 posters carries a definite lesson in good citizenship, in which the word don't is avoided and affirmative suggestions are stressed.

"Municipal Journal" and "Contracting" Merged into "Public Works."—With its issue of January 31 the *Municipal Journal* and *Public Works* absorbed *Contracting*, and the combined journals are now published under the name *Public Works* as a simpler and more comprehensive one. The editors announce that *Public Works*, issued weekly, will be devoted to the design, construction, and maintenance of public works and to advance contract news relating to its field. It is promised that the best features of both papers will be retained and that no subject heretofore covered will be neglected.

Miss Rebecca B. Rankin, who during the past year has been assistant librarian of the New York municipal reference library, has succeeded Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr., as librarian. Mr. Hyde has resigned to organize for the Packard motor company a motor truck research bureau, of which he will be the director, to collect and classify every kind of data relating to transportation problems and their solution. Miss Rankin is a graduate of the University of Michigan and of the Simmons school of library science; she has served as librarian of the Washington state normal school and as assistant to the director of the New York public library, and has displayed marked ability in her professional work. Miss Rankin will also, in place of Mr. Hyde, edit the bibliographical department of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Meyer Lissner Retires.—The resignation of Meyer Lissner from the California industrial accident commission withdraws from the administrative service in the industrial field one of the few attorneys of the west, or for that matter of the country, who have brought deft legal knowledge, the progressive spirit and an intimate acquaintance with economic conditions to bear upon the development and application of law in the industrial field.

THE CITY MANAGER MOVEMENT

CITY MANAGER PLAN BY ORDINANCE

THE fifth year-book of the City Managers' Association, published last spring, in a résumé of facts and figures relating to city manager government, under the caption: "Near-Manager Plans Least Successful" states: "Judged from the standpoint of 'longevity' the attempts to create the city manager plan by local ordinance have met with but limited success. Out of a total of 57 such experiments, 19 have been discontinued after a short trial,—one out of three has failed."

One year later we find that, while the figures have changed slightly, the ratio remains the same; for every two towns still retaining their ordinance-empowered managers, one has abolished the office. The report stands 47 experiments extant, 25 extinct. Of the 47 towns with managers by ordinance, 10 have been so operating for less than one year. These figures are in marked contrast to the record of commission-manager cities which have adopted modern charters. Of the more than 100 municipalities so classed, not one has reverted to the old form of government.

The reasons for creating the position of city manager by ordinance are varied. Most frequently the action indicates a desire to approximate commission-manager government as closely as legal handicaps will permit, for many states have not yet sanctioned commission-manager charters for all their cities. This class includes, among others, towns in the states of New Mexico, Iowa, Pennsylvania and Connecticut, where definite statutes have been enacted authorizing such ordinances and outlining the powers and duties of

the manager; also the state of California where cities of the sixth class are still held back by the governor's veto of the bill passed by the last legislature to authorize city manager charters for such cities, upon due referendum.

FIFTY PER CENT FAILURE IN CALIFORNIA

California has perhaps tried the hardest and fared the worst. Of the ten towns to appoint managers to ordinance-created positions, five have quit. In one, San Rafael, the manager went to war, and the mayor, declaring that the plan had been a great success, promised to appoint a second manager, but no such appointment has been reported. At Hanford, the ordinance specified that the plan would be tried out for a period of six months only. At the end of the six months the report of the manager indicated the need of a city manager and also the serious handicaps under which the makeshift plan compelled the manager to work. Holtville, Inglewood and Huntington Beach all had managers for a period. The report came in from Huntington Beach that there was "no more work for the manager to do."

The California towns that still have ordinance-made managers are Glendale, Anaheim, Pittsburg, Redding and San Anselmo. Coronado is reported to have recently passed a manager-ordinance. Glendale and San Anselmo are the only ones that have been on the list for more than two years. Reports of dissatisfaction have recently been received from both of these cities and in neither case has the ability of the manager been in

question. Anaheim, Pittsburg and Redding are meeting with better success.

Iowa has made eleven attempts, four of which have been given up. Of these latter, the only significant case was that of Grinnell, where the position of manager was created for a period of four months, with the sole intent of facilitating a bit of political house cleaning. A capable lawyer, S. H. Crosby, was given the job and seems to have made a success of it. The other towns credited with having tried are Sac City, Bloomfield and Alta. The seven now operating under managers are: Anamosa, Clarinda, Estherville, Iowa Falls, Manchester, Mt. Pleasant and Villisca. Of these, Clarinda is the largest and has operated the longest and most successfully.

PENNSYLVANIA'S BOROUGH MANAGER PLAN

Pennsylvania has had a similar experience: four defunct and six still running, though two of the six have vacancies in the position of borough manager. The four to "pass out" are Titusville, Grove City, Philipsburg and Bethlehem. Titusville tried two varieties of ordinance and discarded both. Philipsburg made a brief experiment of appointing the secretary of the chamber of commerce as borough manager but when he accepted the secretaryship of a larger chamber of commerce the position of borough manager was discontinued. Grove City started, ran awhile and stopped, but has recently given indications of planning a second attempt. Bethlehem paid its city manager a salary of \$1 a year, but the commissioners, all wealthy men, turned their salary checks over to him along with their administrative duties and worries so that he realized an income of \$10,-

000. The reversion of Bethlehem to partisan elections and reaction against the financial program of the commission lead to the election of commissioners opposed to the manager plan.

The administration at Altoona has been a conspicuous success and improvement in varying degrees has been reported at Ambridge, Towanda, Mifflinburg, Edgeworth and Sewickley. The last two boroughs named have been managed by a single manager W. M. Cotton, whose promotion to Ambridge recently has created the vacancies referred to.

Six of Virginia's eight ordinance-created manager plans are still in operation. Staunton, the first town in the country to employ a manager, has continued under this plan since January, 1908. A very definite agitation has been under way for some little time to remodel Staunton's government in accord with commissioner ideals. The same sort of action has been contemplated at Winchester and Charlottesville which have experienced just a sufficient amount of success under the limitations of their old charters to make adoption of the full plan desirable. Fredericksburg has enjoyed over seven years of civic prosperity under the plan while Blackstone and Farmville seem moderately satisfied. The two failures are reported from Graham and South Boston. Warrenton enters the list March first.

VILLAGE MANAGERS OF ILLINOIS SUCCEED

Illinois' sole efforts at manager government have been in four village suburbs of Chicago: River Forest, Glencoe, Winnetka and Wilmette. River Forest discontinued after about one year. Glencoe has met with genuine and complete success as is

clearly the case at Winnetka while Wilmette appears progressing well under the ordinance-created manager plan. The village government laws of Illinois permit operation of this plan under fair conditions and the ability of the managers is to be duly credited for the success.

North Carolina's experience tallies with that of California. Two out of four ventures have survived so far, though the success of the plan at Tarboro, and Morehead City may have been less conspicuous than that noted in the Illinois villages. At Kinston the plan was "stillborn," while Durham, with its short-lived attempt has constituted a real menace to the manager movement, as the auditor has reported to enquiring cities that the manager plan was a complete failure at Durham, without adding that Durham never gave the manager plan half a chance.

The other cases of failure and success have been scattered,—failure and success as gauged only by the test of survival. Those on the discontinued list are: Tucson, Arizona; Lakeland, Florida; Abilene and Mulberry, Kansas; Eden, Maine; Johnson City, Tennessee, and Williamson, West Virginia.

Several of the remaining cities now operating under this quasi-manager plan have commission charters of the old type and have thus virtually the component parts of the commission-manager plan lacking only the stability, the definite cleavage of authority and the assurance of popular approval acquired by adoption of a charter. In this class are Largo, Florida, a little town of some 500 population; Eaton Rapids, Michigan; Pipestone, Minnesota, and Weatherford, Oklahoma.

To complete the records we add: Bentonville and Monticello, Arkansas; West Hartford, Connecticut, where

the plan was duly voted at a public town meeting; Cynthiana, Kentucky; Columbus, Glasgow and Scobey, three small Montana towns; Clovis and Roswell, New Mexico; Clark, South Dakota; Teague, Texas and Brigham City, Utah.

WHY "NEAR-MANAGER" PLANS FAIL

The reasons for the large percentage of failure that has attended these experiments in "near-manager" government are self-evident upon brief analysis and the conclusions reached are amply warranted in fact. In the large majority of cases, partisan politics, the bane of municipal efficiency, are in no way curbed by the passing of an ordinance creating a well-paid position of such influence as that of city manager. Most appointments have gone to local men, of limited training and not unlimited ability. Usually their powers have not been clearly set forth or at least not clearly understood. The citizens, not having been formally consulted, fail to co-operate with the new official in many instances.

Frequently the council, with the best of intent, has conscientiously sought a high calibre man for manager; but men of manager-sized ability logically hesitate to accept a position of uncertain tenure and subject to abolition at any meeting of the council. Finally, the average small town council, elected under the old plan, is more than likely to contain one or two members who feel obligated to continue the practice of political patronage as a part of the "gentlemen's agreement" to which they owe their election. Certain it is that the manager is seldom free to select his subordinates upon the sole qualification of merit, unless faithfulness to party and friends be deemed meritorious.

CAUTION AGAINST FORCING GROWTH
OF MANAGER PLAN

The purpose of this article is three-fold: (1) The setting forth of these facts and the conclusions they seem to bear out, may forestall some city from adopting the manager plan by local ordinance when a real commission-manager charter may be obtained by a little added effort; (2) the establishing of a defense in the court of public opinion for the men who are conscientiously trying to succeed as managers under the handicap of patched-up governmental machinery; (3) the disarming of reactionary critics who have not discriminated between this "near-manager" plan and true commission-manager government, crediting the latter with failures of the former.

Colonel Henry M. Waite, former

city manager of Dayton, Ohio, uttered a timely caution against the forced growth of city manager government in an informal address at the sixth annual meeting of the City Managers' Association held in Indianapolis last October.

"It is impossible to get the efficiency under the other forms of government," said Colonel Waite, "that you can get under the city manager plan if it is worked as it should be. But," he continued, "I think one of the greatest mistakes we have made is that we have tried to advance too fast in improving our government. Another great mistake, as I see it, is for cities to adopt the city manager plan when they haven't the governmental authority behind it."

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